

T H E
M E T H O D
O F
TEACHING AND STUDYING
T H E
BELLES LETTRES;

O R,

AN INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGES, POE-
TRY, RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL
PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS, &c.

W I T H

REFLECTIONS ON TASTE, and INSTRUCTIONS
with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PUL-
PIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illustrated with PASSAGES from the most
famous POETS and ORATORS, ancient and modern,
with CRITICAL REMARKS on them.

Designed more particularly for STUDENTS in the
UNIVERSITIES.

*By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of
Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College,
and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions
and Belles Lettres.*

TRANSLATED from the FRENCH.

V O L. III.

The ELEVENTH EDITION.

D U B L I N:

Printed for J. BEATTY, No. 32, Skinner-Row.
M,DCC,LXXVIII.



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BOOK.

B O O K IV.
O F H I S T O R Y.

The INTRODUCTION.

IT is not without reason that (a) history has always been considered as the light of ages, the depository of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the source of prudence and good counsel, and the rule of conduct and manners. (b) Confined without it to the bounds of the age and country wherein we live, and shut up within the narrow circle of such branches of knowledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of our own private reflections, we continue in a kind of infancy, which leaves us strangers to the rest of the world, and profoundly ignorant to all that has preceded, or even now surrounds us. (c) What is the small number of years, that make up the longest life, or what the extent of country which we are able to possess or travel over, but an imperceptible point in comparison of the vast regions of the universe, and the long series of ages, which have succeeded one another since the creation

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of

(a) *Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriz, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis.* Cic. lib. 2. de Orat. n. 36.

(b) *Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.* Cic. in Orat. n. 120.

(c) *Terram hanc cum populis urbibusque. . . puncti loco ponimus, ad universa referentes: minorem portionem ætas nostra quam puncti habet, si tempori comparetur omni.* Senec de cons. ad Marciam, cap. 20.

Nullum seculum magnis ingeniis clausum est, nullum non cogitationi pervium. Id.

Si magnitudine animi egredi humanæ imbecillitatis angustias libet, multum per quod spatium temporis est. . . Licet in consortium omnis ævi pariter incedere. Id. de brev. vitæ, c. 14.

of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing, must be limited to this imperceptible point, unless we call in the study of history to our assistance; which opens to us every age and every country; keeps up a correspondence betwixt us and the great men of antiquity; sets all their actions, all their achievements, virtues, and faults before our eyes; and, by the prudent reflections it either presents, or gives us an opportunity of making, soon teaches us to be wise before our time, and in a manner far superior to all the lessons of the greatest masters.

History may properly be called the common school of mankind, equally open and useful both to great and small, to princes and subjects, and still more necessary to princes and great men, than to all others. For how can awful truth approach them, amidst the crowd of flatterers which surround them on all sides, and are continually commending and admiring them, or, in other words, corrupting and poisoning their hearts and understandings? how, I say, can truth make her feeble voice be heard among such tumult and confusion? how venture to lay before them the duties and slaveries of royalty? how shew them wherein their true glory consists, and represent to them, that if they will look back to the original of their institution, they may clearly find (d) they were made for the people, and not the people for them? how put them in mind of their faults, make them apprehend the just judgment of posterity, and disperse the thick clouds, which the vain phantom of their greatness, and the inebriation of their fortune, have formed around them?

These services, which are so necessary and important, can be rendered them only by the assistance of history, which alone has the power of speaking freely to them, and the right of passing an absolute judgment upon the actions of princes, no less than fame, which

Seneca

(d) *Affiduis bonitatis argumentis probavit, non rempublicam suam esse, sed se reipublicam.* Senec. de Clem. lib. 1. cap. 19.



(e) Seneca calls *liberrimam principum judicem*. Their abilities may be extolled, their wit and valour admired, and their exploits and conquests boasted ; but if all these have no foundation in truth and justice, history will tacitly pass sentence upon them under borrowed names. The greatest part of the most famous conquerors they will find treated as public calamities, the enemies of mankind, and the (f) robbers of nations, who, hurried on by a blind and restless ambition, carry desolation from country to country (g), and, like an inundation, or a fire, ravage all that they meet in their way. They will see a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian, who were praised to excess during their lives, become the horror and execration of mankind after their deaths ; whereas Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, are still looked upon as the delights of the world, for having made use of their power only to do good. Thus we may say, that history is to them a tribunal raised in their lifetime, like that which was formerly erected amongst the Egyptians, where princes, like private men, were tried and condemned after their death ; and that hence they may learn beforehand, the sentence which will for ever be passed upon their reputation. 'Tis history, in fine, (g) which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great, and sets a mark of infamy on vices, which no after age can ever obliterate. 'Tis by history that mistaken merit, and oppressed virtue, appeal to the incorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them and, without respect of persons and the fear of a

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power,

(e) Sen de consol. ad Marciam, cap. 4.

(f) *Prædo gentium levavit se.* Jer. iv. 7.

(g) Philippi aut Alexandri latrocinia cæterorumque, qui exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio, quæ regna pars animantium exaruit. Senec. Lib. 3. Nat Quæst. in præfat.

(h) Precipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 65.

power, which subsists no more, condemns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour.

There is no age or condition, which may not derive the same advantages from history; and what I have said of princes and conquerors, comprehends also in some measure, all persons in power, ministers of state, generals of armies, officers, magistrates, governors of provinces, prelates, ecclesiastical superiors both secular and regular, fathers and mothers, masters and mistresses; in a word, whoever have authority over others. For such persons have some-times more haughtiness, pride and humour, in a very limited station, than kings in theirs, and carry their despotic disposition and arbitrary power to a greater length. History therefore is of great advantage, to lay down useful lessons to them all, and present them with a faithful mirror of their duties and obligations by an unsuspected hand, and thereby make them sensible, that they are all constituted for the sake of their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them.

Thus history, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, dispels the delusive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp, which dazzles the imagination, and shews, by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasonings whatsoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity. From the esteem and admiration, which the most corrupt cannot refuse to the great and good actions, that history lays before them, it confirms the great truth, that virtue is man's real good, and alone renders him truly great and valuable (i).

This

(i) Si quemadmodum visus oculorum quibusdam medicamentis acui solet et repurgari, sic et nos aciem animi liberare impedimentis voluerimus, poterimus perspicere virtutem, etiam obrutam corpore, etiam paupertate opposita, et humilitate, et infamia obja-centibus: cernemus, inquam, pulchritudinem illam, quamvis fordido obtectam. Rursus æque malitiam et ærumnosi animi veterum perspicimus, quamvis multus circa divitiarum radiantium splendor impediât, et intuentem hinc honorum, illinc magnarum potestatum, falsa lux verberet. Senec. Ep. 115.

This virtue we are taught by history to revere, and to discern its beauty and brightness through the veils of poverty, adversity, and obscurity; and sometimes, also, of disgrace and infamy; as, on the other hand, it inspires us with the contempt and horror of vice, though clothed in purple, surrounded with splendor, and placed on a throne.

But to confine myself to my own scheme, I look upon history as the first master to be given to children, equally serviceable to entertain and instruct them, to form their hearts and understandings, and to enrich their memories with abundance of facts as agreeable as useful (k). It may likewise be of great service, by means of the pleasure inseparable from it, towards exciting the curiosity of that age, which is ever desirous of being informed, and inspiring a taste for study. Thus, in point of education, it is a fundamental principle, and constantly observed in all times, that the study of history should precede all the rest, and prepare the way for them. Plutarch tells us, that Cato the elder, the famous censor, whose name and virtue brought so much honour to the Roman commonwealth, took upon himself a peculiar care in the education of his son, without trusting to the care of masters, and drew up a collection of historical facts expressly for his use, and wrote them over in large characters with his own hands, that the child, he said, might be able from his infancy, without going from home, to become acquainted with the great men of his own country, and form himself upon those ancient models of probity and virtue.

It is by no means necessary that I should dwell any longer upon proving the usefulness of history; it is a point generally enough agreed on, and which few people call in question. It is of most concern to

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know

(k) *Fatendum in ipsis rebus, quæ discuntur et cognoscuntur, invitamenta inesse, quibus ad discendum cognoscendumque moveamur.* Cic. lib. 5. de fin. bon. et mal. n. 2.

know what is necessary to be observed, in order to render the study of it useful, and reaping the benefits to be expected from it. And this I shall now attempt to lay down.

That I may throw what I have to say upon history into some order, I shall divide this discourse into three parts. The first shall treat of the taste of solid glory and real greatness, and serve to caution youth against the false ideas which the study of history itself may raise in them upon this subject. The second shall be upon sacred history. The third upon profane. And in the last, I shall say something of fable, of the study of the Greek and Roman antiquities, the authors from whence we are to borrow our knowledge of history, and the order wherein they are to be read.

I make no mention here of the history of France, as it is but natural that ancient history should precede the modern; and I scarce think it possible for boys to find time whilst they are at school, to apply themselves to that of France. But I am far from looking upon it as an indifferent study, and am concerned to see it so much neglected as it is by abundance of persons, to whom it might notwithstanding be very useful, not to say necessary. In talking thus, I first of all blame myself; for I own I have not applied myself to it in the manner it deserves, and I am ashamed to be in some measure a stranger in my own country, after having travelled through so many others. And yet our history supplies us with great examples of virtue, and abundance of beautiful actions, which remain for the most part buried in obscurity, either through the badness of our historians (1), who have wanted the talents for treating them according to their dignity, like the Greeks and Romans; or in consequence of a bad taste, which inclines to admire highly what passes at a distance

(1) *Quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem (veterum) facta pro maximis celebrantur. Sallust in bel. Catil.*

stance from our own age and country, whilst we remain cold and indifferent to such actions as pass before our eyes, and in the age we live. But though we have not time to teach youth the history of France, we ought at least to cultivate a taste in them for it, by quoting such passages out of it from time to time, as may induce them to a farther application to it, when they shall have leisure.

P A R T. I.

Of the TASTE of SOLID GLORY and REAL GREATNESS.

ALL the world agrees, that one of the first cares in training up youth to the study of polite learning, is previously to lay down such rules and principles of good taste, as may serve to guide and direct them in the reading of authors. 'Tis the more necessary to give them this assistance in the case of history; which may be regarded as the study of morality and virtue; as it is of far more importance to pass a right judgment upon virtue than eloquence, and less shameful and dangerous to be mistaken in the rules of discourse, than in those of morality.

Our age, and our nation in particular, stand in need of being undeceived concerning a great number of mistakes and false prejudices, which daily prevail more and more, upon the points of poverty and riches; modesty and presumption; simplicity of buildings and furniture; costliness and magnificence; frugality and delicacy in diet; in a word, upon almost every thing that is the object either of the contempt or admiration of mankind. In matters of this nature, the (a) public taste becomes a rule to youth. They look upon that as valuable, which they see e-

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very

(a) Recti apud nos locum tenet error, ubi publicus factus est. Sen. Ep. 123.

Nulla res nos majoribus malis implicat, quam quod ad rumorem componimur; optima rata ea, quæ magno assensu recepta sunt . . . nec ad rationem, sed ad similitudinem vivimus. Id. lib. de vit. beat. cap. 1,

very body set a value upon; and are guided, not by reason, but custom (b). One single bad example shall suffice to corrupt the minds of youth, which are susceptible of every impression: What then have we not to apprehend for them, at a time when every kind of vice is the common practice, and (c) the grossest passions perpetually busy in extinguishing all sentiments of honour and probity?

How necessary then is this science to them (d), whose principal effect is to remove the false prejudices, which seduce, because they please us; whose office is to cure and deliver us from the popular errors we have sucked in with our milk; to teach us how to discern betwixt true and false, good and evil, solid greatness and vain ostentation (e), and to prevent the contagion of bad examples and vicious customs from infecting the minds of youth, and stifling in them the happy seeds of virtue and probity, which we observe nature to have implanted there (f)? 'Tis in this science, which consists in judging of things, not by common opinion, but by truth, not by a specious outside, but by real merit, that Socrates has placed all the wisdom of man.

I have therefore thought it my duty to begin this treatise of history, with laying down principles and rules

(b) *Unum exemplum, aut luxuriæ, aut avaritiæ, multum mali facit . . . quid tu accidere his moribus credis, in quos publice factus est impetus? . . . adeo nemo nostrum ferre impetum vitiorum tam magno comitatu venientem potest.* Sen. ep. 7.

Definit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt. Ep. 39.

(c) Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiae certamine? major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundiæ est. Id. lib. 2. de Ira, c. 8.

(d) Sapientia animi magistra est. . . Quæ sint mala, quæ videantur, ostendit. Vanitatem exuit mentibus, dat magnitudinem solidam; nec ignorari sinit, inter magna quid intersit et tumida. Ep. 90.

Inducenda est in occupatum locum virtus, quæ mendacia contra verum placentia extirpet; quæ nos a populo, cui nimis credimus, separet, ac sinceris opinionibus reddat. Ep. 94.

(e) Tanta est corruptela malæ consuetudinis, ut ab ea tanquam igniculi extinguantur a natura dati, exorianturque et confirmentur vitia contraria. Cic. lib. 1. de leg. n. 33.

(f) Socrates hanc summam dixit esse sapientiam, bona malaque distinguere. Sen. Ep. 71.

rules how to pass a sound judgment upon great and good actions, to discern wherein solid glory and real greatness consist, and to distinguish expressly what is worthy of esteem and admiration, from what merits only indifference or contempt. Without these rules and precautions, young persons, who have no other guides than their own inclinations or the popular opinions, may form themselves upon models entirely agreeable to these false ideas, and give into the passions and vices of those, whose actions make a figure in history indeed, but are not always virtuous or estimable.

Properly speaking, the gospel only and the word of God can prescribe sure and infallible rules to direct us in judging rightly of all things; and it seems my duty to borrow solely from so rich a source the instructions I undertake to give youth on so important a subject. But to make them the better comprehend, how blameable the errors are which I oppose, and how contrary even to right reason, I shall extract my principles only from heathen writers, who will teach us that what renders a man truly great and worthy of admiration, is neither riches, magnificent buildings, costly habits, or sumptuous furniture; neither a luxurious table, great employments, or high birth; neither reputation, famous exploits, such as victories and conquests, nor even the most valuable endowments of the mind (a); but that a man owes his real worth to the heart; and that the more truly great and generous he is, in that respect the more he will despise what seems great in the eyes of the rest of mankind. At first, my examples were taken only from ancient history; but certain persons of ability and understanding, have since advised me to add others from modern history, and especially that of France, and have been pleased to supply me with several themselves, for which I take this opportunity of making my acknowledgments.

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But

(a) Cogita in te, præter animum, nihil esse mirabile cui magno nihil magnum est. Sen. Ep. 8.

Hoc nos doce, beatum esse illum, cui omne bonum in animo, est illum erectum, et excelsum, et mirabilia calcantem. Id. Ep. 45.

But though I have taken all my principles, and most of my examples, from heathen writers, and have avoided using those of the many illustrious saints Christianity might supply for all states and conditions, it does not follow that my design has been only to recommend virtues purely pagan. One may consider things in an human way, without considering the last end and prime inducements for pursuing them. And thus by degrees we may rise to a purer and more perfect virtue, and, by becoming attentive and obedient to reason, be prepared to submit to religion and faith, which command the same duties, but upon higher motives, and with the promise of far more glorious rewards.

Lastly, I desire the reader would remember, that this work is not designed for the learned, who are already well versed in history, and may think the great number of facts I have quoted, tedious, as containing nothing new to them, (h); but that my design is principally to instruct young students, who may often have scarce any other notion of history, than what they find in this; which has obliged me to be somewhat more prolix, to produce a great number of examples; and to add more reflections, than otherwise I should have done.

I. RICHES. POVERTY.

(i) As riches purchase whatever is most esteemed and sought after in life, as honours, employments, lands, houses, ornaments, luxurious boards, and all the train of vulgar pleasures; it is by no means surpris-
ing

(h) Nos institutionem professi, non solum scientibus ista, sed etiam discantibus tradimus: ideoque paulo pluribus verbis debet haberi venia. Quintil lib. 11. cap. 1.

(i) Hæc ipsa res tot magistratus, tot judices detinet, quæ magistratus et judices facit, pecunia; quæ ex quo in honore esse cœpit, verus rerum honor cecidit. . . . Admirationem nobis parentes auri argentique fecerunt: et teneris infusa cupiditas altius sedit, crevitque nobiscum. Deinde totus populus, in alia discors. in hoc convenit: hoc suspiciunt, hoc suis optant . . . Denique eo mores redacti sunt, ut paupertas maledicto probroque sit, contempta divitiis, invisa pauperibus. Sen. Ep. 115.

ing that themselves should be more esteemed and sought after than all the rest. This notion, too natural to children in itself, is cherished and supported in them by every thing they see and hear. All tends to resound the praises of riches. Gold and silver are the only or the principal object of the admiration of mankind, of their desires and labours. They are regarded as alone capable of making life easy and happy, and poverty, on the other hand, as the cause of shame and misfortune.

(k) And yet antiquity (to our great surprise) gives us an instance of a whole nation exclaiming against such sentiments. Euripides had put an high encomium of riches into the mouth of Bellerophon, which he concluded with these words, *Riches are the sovereign happiness of mankind, and 'tis with reason they excite the admiration of gods and men.* These last lines provoked the whole people of Athens. They rose up with one common voice against the poet, and would have immediately banished him the city, if he had not besought them to stay till the play was done, and they should see his idolater of riches come to a miserable end. A bad, a wretched excuse! The impression, which such maxims make upon the imagination, is too strong and lively to wait for the slow remedies, which an author may bring at the conclusion of his performance.

The people of Rome were no less noble in their sentiments. Their ambition was to gain a great deal of glory, and little wealth. Every one sought, (l) says an historian, not to enrich themselves, but their country; and they rather chose to be poor in a rich commonwealth, than to be rich themselves, whilst the commonwealth was poor. (m) The Camilli, the Fabricii, and the Curii, were formed we know in the school and bosom of poverty, and 'twas usual with their greatest men, not to leave wherewithal to defray

(k) Senec. Epist. 115.

(l) Patriæ rem unusquisque, non suam, auge e properabat, pauperque indivite, cum dives in paupere imperio versumalebat. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

(m) Horat. Od. xii. lib. 1.

fray the expences of their funerals, or to portion out their daughters.

Such also was the disposition of our ancient magistrates; and we read with pleasure in the history of the premier presidents of the university of Paris, that the famous "*John de la Vacquerie* died richer in honours and reputation, than in the goods of fortune. " For having left behind him three daughters, the " heiresses only of his virtues, his master K. Lewis " the XIth, in acknowledgment of his services, took " care to marry them according to their condition, " and paid their fortunes out of his own treasury."

An expression of the emperor Valerian's, shews us how much poverty was esteemed even in the lower age of the empire. He had nominated Aurelian, who was afterwards Emperor, to the consulship; and as he was poor, he ordered the keeper of his treasury to supply him with all the money he should want for the expences he was to be at upon his entrance into that office; and wrote to him in these terms, " (n) " You shall give Aurelian, whom I have nominated " consul, whatever shall be necessary to defray the " charges of the customary shews: he deserves this " assistance *by reason of his poverty, which renders him " truly great, and ranks him above all others.*"

Thus we see the sentiments of the truly generous and noble, in all ages and nations. Those great men were of opinion, (o) that nothing was a surer mark of a little abject spirit than the love of riches, and nothing on the other hand more great and generous, than to despise them; and thought it the highest pitch of virtue, to bear up nobly under poverty, and to look upon it as an advantage rather than a misfortune. According to them, the second degree of
virtue

(n) Aureliano, cui consulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, qua ille magnus est, cæteris major, dabis ob editionem Circesium, &c. Vopisc. in vita Imper. Aurel.

(o) Nihil est tam angusti animi tamque parvi, quam amare divitias: nihil honestius magnificentiusque quam pecuniam contemnere, si non habeas; si habeas, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque convertere. Cic. lib. 1. Offic. n. 68.

virtue consisted in making a good use of riches, when they possessed them; and they judged it most agreeable to the end for which they were designed, and most likely to draw upon the rich the esteem and love of mankind, to make them subservient to the good of the society. In a word, [p] they counted nothing really their own, but what they had given away.

Cimon the Athenian general, thought his possessions were given him by fortune for no other end than to be distributed amongst his fellow citizens, to clothe some, and to relieve the wants of others. What Philopemen gained from the enemy, he bestowed in supplying such of the citizens with arms and horses, as stood in need of them, and in ransoming such of them as had been made prisoners of war. Aratus, general of the Achæans, made himself universally beloved, and saved his country, by applying the presents he received from the kings, in appeasing the divisions which prevailed among his countrymen, in paying the debts of some, assisting others in their necessities, and redeeming captives.

To give but one single instance among the Romans. Pliny the younger disbursts considerable sums for the service of his friends. [q] He forgives one person all he owes him. [r] He pays the debts of another, which he had contracted for just reasons, [s] He encreases the portion of another's daughter, that she might keep up the dignity of the person she was about to marry. [t] He supplies another with sums to make him a Roman knight. [u] To gratify another, he sells him a piece of land below its value. [x] He gives another wherewithal to return into his own country, and end his days there in quiet. [y] He makes himself easy in the differences of his family,

[p] Nihil magis possidere me credam, quam bene donata. Senec. de vita Beat. cap. 20.

Hoc habeo, quodcumque dedi. Lib. 6. de benef. cap. 3.

[q] Lib. 2. Ep. 4. [r] Lib. 3. Ep. 11. [s] Lib. 6. Ep. 32.

[t] Lib. 1. Ep. 19. [u] Lib. 7. 11, & 14.

[x] The Poet Martial. Lib. 3. Ep. 21.

[y] Lib. 4. Ep. 10. Lib. 8. Ep. 2. Lid. 5. Ep. 7.

and voluntarily gives up his own right. [y] He bestows upon his nurse a piece of ground, big enough for her subsistence. [z] He presents his country with a library, and a revenue sufficient to maintain it. [a] He settles salaries upon professors for the instruction of youth. [b] He erects a school for the education of orphans and poor children, of which there are some footsteps remaining to this day. And all this he does with a moderate fortune. But his frugality, as he declares himself, was a rich fund, which supplied whatever was wanting to his revenue, and enabled him to bestow with such liberality, as is astonishing in a private man. [c] *Quod cessat ex redivit, frugalitate suppletur; ex qua, velut ex fonte, liberalitas nostra decurrit.*

Let any one ask the boys what they think of such an example, after having compared this noble and amiable use of riches with the behaviour of such unnatural persons, who live as if they were born only for themselves; who set no other value on riches than as the means to indulge their passions, to support their luxury, and gratify the love of pleasures, a vain ostentation, or a restless curiosity; who are serviceable neither to their relations, their friends or their most antient and faithful domestics; and who think themselves under no obligations by the ties of blood, friendship, gratitude, merit, or humanity, nor even to their country.

[d] When M. de Turenne undertook the command of the army in Germany, he found the troops in so bad a condition, that he sold his own plate to clothe the soldiers, and mount the horse, which he did more than once. Though his estate amounted to no more than [e] forty thousand livres a year, he never would accept of the considerable sums his friends offered.

[y] Lib. 6. Ep. 3. [z] Lib. 1. Ep. 8. [a] Lib. 4. Ep. 13.

[b] Lib. 1. Ep. 8. [c] Lib. 2. Ep. 4.

[d] *Hommes Illustres de M. Perrault.*

[e] When he died he had not fifteen hundred livres by him in ready money.

offered him, nor take up any thing on trust from the tradesmen, for fear, he said, that if he fell, they should lose a good part of it. And I know that all the workmen, employed about his house, were ordered to bring in their bills before he set out for the campaign, and were regularly paid.

(g) Whilst he commanded in Germany, a neutral town, which thought the king's army was marching towards them, offered this general an hundred thousand crowns, to engage him to take another rout, and make amends for a day or two's march, which it might cost the army more. *I cannot in conscience,* answered M. Turenne, *accept of this sum, for I had no intention to pass by that town.*

The action of the great Scipio in Spain, when he added to the portion of a young captive princess the ransom her parents had brought to redeem her, gained him no less honour than the most famous of his conquests. A like action of the chevalier Bayard merits no less praise. (h) When Bresse was taken by storm from the Venetians, he saved a house from plunder, whither he had retired to have a mortal wound dressed, which he had received in the siege, and secured the mistress of the family and her two daughters who were hid in it. At his departure, the lady, as a mark of her gratitude, offered him a casket containing two thousand five hundred ducats, which he obstinately refused. But observing that his refusal was very displeasing to her, and not caring to leave her dissatisfied, he consented to accept of her present; and calling to him the two young ladies to take his leave of them, he presented each of them with a thousand ducats to be added to their portion, and left the remaining five hundred to be distributed among the inhabitants that had been plundered.

But that we may have the better notion of the nobleness and greatness of a disinterested mind, let us consider it, not in generals and princes, whose
glory

(g) *Lettres de Bourfault;*

(h) *Vie du Chev. Bayard.*

glory and power may seem perhaps to heighten the lustre of this virtue, but in persons of a lower rank, who have nothing about them but the virtue itself to raise our admiration. A poor man, who was door-keeper to a boarding house in Milan, found a purse with two hundred crowns in it. The man who had lost it, informed by a public advertisement, came to the house, and giving good proof that the purse belonged to him, the door-keeper restored it to him. The owner, full of joy and gratitude, offered his benefactor twenty crowns, which the other absolutely refused. He then came down to ten, and afterwards to five. But finding him still inexorable, he throws his purse upon the ground, and in an angry tone, *I have lost nothing*, says he, *nothing at all, if you thus refuse to accept of any thing*. The door-keeper then accepted of five crowns, which he immediately distributed among the poor.

I have heard a lieutenant-general in the king's army say, that upon a certain occasion, when the soldiers were busy in stripping the bodies of the slain, the commanding officer, to encourage them to pursue the enemy, and at the same time make amends for their loss, threw down among them forty or fifty pistoles, which he had in his pocket. The greatest part of them refused to share in this liberality, and thought it would dishonour them to want presents for doing their duty, and serving their king. The late M. de Louvois, being informed of this action, highly commended them, gave each of them a sum of money in sight of the army, and took care to advance them as occasion offered.

Whoever reads such stories as these, cannot but be sensible of the impression they make upon his heart. Let us then compare so noble and generous a conduct with the low sentiments of abundance of persons, who seem to regard and value nothing in the great places they enjoy, but the opportunity to enrich themselves with ease; and we shall not scruple to conclude with Tully, that there is no vice so
infamous,

infamous, especially in persons of rank and office, as avarice. (i) Nullum igitur vitium tetrius quam avaritia, præsertim in principibus, et rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim quæstui rempublicam, non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam et nefarium.

This passion for money is a fault extremely dishonourable to men of learning; as, on the other hand, nothing gains them a greater reputation, than the looking upon riches with indifference.

Seneca, after such frequent and high encomiums of poverty, (k) had great reason to reproach himself for his extravagant attachment to wealth, and those numberless acquisitions he made of lands, gardens, and magnificent buildings, not scrupling the practice of the most enormous usury to obtain them, and bringing a disgrace entirely, if not upon philosophy, at least upon the philosopher.

All that he has said in one of his (l) discourses in defence of his conduct, will never convince us that he had not a strong inclination for riches, and that he gave them entrance only into his house, and not into his heart. Sapiens non amat divitias, sed mavult; non in animum illas, sed in domum recipit.

I am concerned (m) that Amiot, who was so great an honour to learning in his age, should have sullied his glory in some measure by this rust of avarice. He was a poor boy, and, as is supposed, the son of a butcher, and raised himself by his merit. He was made bishop of Auxerre, and grand almoner of France. Charles the XIth; whom he instructed and brought up, always called him his master, and sometimes diverting himself with him, would jestingly reproach him with his avarice. One day as Amiot was asking for a rich benefice, *Ab! master*, says the king, *you used to say, that if you had but a thousand crowns*

(i) Lib. 2. Offic. n. 77.

(k) Ubi est (addressing himself to Nero) animus ille modicis contentus? Tales hortos instruit, et per hæc suburbana incedit, et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato sænore exuberat? Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 53.

(l) L. de Vit. B. at. c. 17, 52

[m] Dict. de Bayle.

crowns a year, you should be satisfied. I believe you have that, and more. Sir, answered he, *my appetite increases with my food.* He constantly obtained what he asked for ; and died worth above two hundred thousand crowns.

There is one now in the university, whom I dare not venture to name, because he is still living, but I cannot pass over in silence his noble and disinterested disposition. After he had taught philosophy in the college of Beauvais with great reputation, where he had been brought up as a scholar of the house, and was afterwards elected principal ; at the very time he was possessed of the highest dignity in the university, he was called to court, to assist in the education of the present king of Spain, and has since had the honour of attending upon the young monarch, now on the throne. The two courts of France and Spain have strove to express their acknowledgments, by offering him benefices and pensions, which he has always constantly refused, alledging for a reason, that his salary was more than sufficient to support him according to his station, in which his different employments, how distinguished soever, have never caused him to make the least alteration.

II. BUILDINGS.

We seldom form a right judgment of objects, that have a splendid outside, and strike the view by their external lustre. There are few persons, who hear of the famous Pyramids of Egypt, without being transported with admiration, and extolling the grandeur and magnificence of the princes who raised them. And yet I question whether this admiration be well grounded, or those enormous piles of building, which cost such immense sums, and occasioned the loss of so many men that were employed about them, and which were only intended for pomp and ostentation, (n) and not for any solid use ;

I que-

[n] Pyramides regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio. Plin. lib. 36. hist. nat. cap. 12.

I question I say, whether such buildings deserve to be spoken of with so much applause.

True greatness does not consist in desiring or doing what a disordered imagination, or a popular error, represent as great and magnificent. It does not consist in attempting difficult things, purely because they are difficult. Nor is it affected with what seems wonderful, or actuated by the pleasure of surmounting impossibilities, as history relates of Nero, with whom, whatever seemed impracticable, had the idea of grand. (o) *Erat incredibilum cupitor.*

(p) Cicero was of opinion, that only such works and buildings only deserve admiration, as were designed for the public good, such as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, and sea-ports.

(q) He observes, that Pericles, the principal man in Greece, was justly blamed for exhausting the public treasures in adorning the city of Athens, and enriching it with superfluous ornaments. The Romans, from the foundation of the empire, had a very different taste. They had grandeur in their view, but in such matters only as concerned religion, or the public emolument. (r) Livy observes, that under Tarquinius Superbus, they finished a work to carry off the waters of the town, and laid the foundations of the Capitol with such magnificence as after ages have scarce been able to imitate; and we to this day admire the strength and beauty of the public ways, which still subsist almost entire after so many ages.

A like judgment is to be passed upon the buildings of private persons. (s) Tully examining what kind of house is proper for a person in a great office and of distinguished rank in the state, thinks lodging and use what ought principally to be regarded; to which a second view might be added, with regard to convenience

(o) Tacit. Ann. lib. 15. c. 42.

(p) Lib. 2. Offic. n. 60.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Lib. 1. n. 56.

(s) Lib. 1. Offic. n. 138.

nience and dignity ; (t) but he particularly recommends the avoiding all excessive magnificence and expence, as the example never fails of becoming pernicious and contagious, men being generally apt not only to imitate, but to exceed others in this particular. Who, says Tully, has rivalled the famous Lucullus in his virtues? But how many have followed his example in the costliness of his buildings? And in our own days we could cite abundance of families, which have either been entirely ruined, or remarkably hurt by a madness for building magnificent houses in town or country, which are the tombs of the most substantial riches of a family, and soon pass into the hands of strangers, who reap the advantage of the first owner's family. And this should lead such persons as are entrusted with the education of youth, to caution them early against so common and so dangerous a taste.

(u) The antient Romans were very remote from this. Plutarch mentions one *Ælius Tubero* in the life of *Paulus Æmilius*, (x) whom he calls an excellent man, and one that supported poverty in a more noble and generous manner than any other Roman. There were sixteen near relations, all of the *Ælian* family and name, who had only one little house in town, and another in the country, where they all lived together with their wives, and a great many little children.

Among the antient Romans, it was not the house which honoured the master, but the master the house (y). A cottage with them, became as august as a temple, when

(t) Cavendum est etiam præsertim, si ipse ædifices, ne extramodum sumptu et magnificentia prodeas : quo in genere multum mali etiam in exemplo est. Studiose enim plerique, præsertim in hac parte, facta principum imitantur, ut L. Luculli summi viri virtutem quis? at quam multi villarum magnificentiam imitati sunt! Ibid. n. 40.

(u) Cic. lib. de Offic. n. 39.

(x) Ἀνὴρ ἀρίστος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείστατα Ῥωμαίων πενιᾶ χρησάμενος.

(y) Istud humile tugurium . . . jam omnibus templis formosius erit, cum illic justitia conspectu verit, cum continentia, cum prudentia, pietas omnium Officiorum recte dispensandorum ratio: Nullus angustus est locus, qui hanc tam magnarum virtutum turbam capit. Senéc. de consol. ad Hlv. cap. 9.

when justice, generosity, probity, sincerity, and honour were lodged in it; and how can a house be called small which contains so many and so great virtues?

The taste for modesty in buildings, and a disregard for all expensiveness in this particular passed from the republic to the empire, and from private men to the emperors in person.

Trajan placed a glory in building little, that he might be the better able to support the antient edifices. *Idem tam parcus in ædificando, quam diligens in tuendo.* He set no value upon whatever administered to ostentation and vanity. [z] He understood says Pliny, wherein the true glory of a prince consisted. He knew, that statues, triumphal arches, and buildings, were liable to perish by fire and age, or the fancy of a successor; but that he who despises ambition, who governs his passions, and sets bounds to absolute power, is extolled by all the whole world during his life, and even after his death when nobody was constrained to praise him.

The event shewed that he was in the right. Alexander Severus repaired several works of Trajan's and caused that emperor's name to be fixed upon them all, without allowing his own to be placed in its stead. All the great emperors acted with the same moderation; and we see to this day, that more medals have been struck to the glory of such princes, as repaired public buildings and the monuments of their predecessors, than in honour of those who raised new ones.

We have already observed, in another [a] place that Augustus was always content with the same apartment and furniture during a reign of near fifty years.

Vespasian

[z] *Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria: ubi sint honores in quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat. Arcus enim, et statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas. Contra, contemptor ambitionis, et finitæ potestatis domitor ac frænator animus, ipsa vetustate florescit, nec ab ullis magis laudatur, quam quibus minime necesse est.* Plin.

[a] Sueton.

(b) Vespasian and Titus looked upon it as an honour and a pleasure to preserve the little country house, that was left them by their ancestors, without making any alteration in it.

Those masters of the world did not think themselves too straitly lodged in a house, which had been built only for a private person. The ruins of Adrian's country-seat are still remaining, which does not seem to have been larger than one of our common houses, and is by no means equal to that of several private persons now living.

For men now, who have no other merit than their riches, (and often of how mean an original !) build magnificent palaces both in town and country ; and to the misfortune of all around them, sooner or later, their neighbour's house, vineyard, and inheritance, are swallowed up in their vast buildings and serve only to enlarge their gardens and parks !

(c) What is told of Cardinal d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, and minister of state under Lewis XII. is a very extraordinary example. A gentleman of Normandy had an estate in land not far from the beautiful seat of the Gaillon, which at that time belonged to the archbishopric of Rouen. He had no money to give with his daughter in marriage, and, to procure a portion, offered to sell his land to the cardinal at a cheap rate. Another would perhaps have taken advantage of the occasion ; but the cardinal, knowing the gentleman's motive, left him his land and freely gave him as much money as he stood in need of.

We have had a prince (d) in our days, whose loss will be eternally lamented in France, as in many other respects, so particularly for his extreme aversion to all pomp, and useless expence. It was proposed to him to put up finer and more fashionable chimney-pieces in one of his apartments ; but as there was no necessity for the alteration, he chose rather

(b) Sueton. in vit. Vesp. cap. 2.

(c) Vie du Card. d'Amboise, par Baudier.

(d) The Duke of Burgundy.

rather to preserve the old ones. He was advised to buy a bureau, worth fifteen hundred livres ; but thinking it too dear, he had an old one brought out of the wardrobe, and contented himself with that. And thus he behaved in every particular, and out of no other motive, than that he might have wherewithal to be the more liberal. How great a blessing to a kingdom, and how kind a present from heaven, is a prince of this character ? In point of solid glory and real greatness, how far preferable is a tender love for the people, which extends to such self denial for their benefit, to all the magnificence of the most sumptuous buildings ?

It was this that King Lewis XIV. when ready to expire, that is, at a time when the judgment is most sound, recommended to the present king, who sits upon the throne. Amongst other instructions, which have been justly deemed worthy of eternal remembrance, *I have been too fond of war* (d), said he to him, *do not follow me in that, nor in the very great expences I have run into.* In the last discourse he had with his grandson at Seaux, when he was setting out for Spain, he gave him the same advice ; and the King of Spain told the person from whom I had it, that his grandfather spoke these words to him with tears in his eyes.

III. FURNITURE. DRESS. EQUIPAGE.

Nothing of this kind makes a man greater or more deserving, because nothing of all this makes a part of himself, but is wholly external, and foreign to him. And yet the generality of mankind place their greatness in these. They look upon themselves as mixed and incorporated with all around them, their furniture, dress, and equipage. They swell and enlarge the idea they form of themselves, as much as they can, from these outward circumstances : By these they think they are very great and flatter themselves that they appear so in the eyes of others.

But

(d) Dernieres paroles de Louis XIV. au Roi Louis XV. de l'imprimerie du cabinet du Roi.

(e) But to pass a right judgment upon their greatness we should examine them in themselves, and set aside for a few moments their train and retinue. We should then find, that they appear great and exalted, by being beheld at a distance, and raised in a manner upon their basis. Strip them of this advantage, and reduce them to their proper standard, to their just proportion, and the vain phantom vanishes. Their outside is rich and fine, like the walls of their apartments; within, there is often nought but meanness, baseness and poverty, with an hideous void of every merit; and sometimes even this fine outward shew conceals the most enormous crimes and the most infamous vices.

God, (f) says Seneca, could not have cast a greater reproach and disgrace upon those outward advantages which are the object of our desires, than by conferring them, as he often does, upon sorry wretches, and denying them usually to men of the greatest probity. To what a condition would the latter be reduced, if men were to be judged by their outside? How often has the most solid merit been mistaken, and exposed even to contempt, because concealed under a mean habit, and an indifferent appearance?

(g) Philopemen, the greatest soldier of his age in Greece, who exalted so much the glory of the republic of the Achæans, by his extraordinary merit, and whom

(e) *Nemo istorum, quos divitiæ honoresque in altiore fastigio ponunt, magnus est. Quare ergo magnus videtur? Cum basi illum sua metiris. . . . Hoc laboramus errore, sic nobis imponitur, quod neminem æstimamus eo quod est, sed adjicimus illi et ea quibus adornatus est. Atqui cum voles veram hominis æstimationem inire et scire qualis sit, nudum inspice. Ponat patrimonium, ponat honores, et alia fortunæ mendacia. Senec. Epist. 76.*

Auro illos, argento, et ebone ornavi: intus boni nihil est. Isti quos pro felicibus aspicitis si, non qua occurrunt, sed qua latent, videritis, miseri sunt, sordidi, turpes, ad similitudinem parietum suorum extrinsecus culti. Itaque, dum illis licet stare, et ad arbitrium suum ostendi, nitent et imponunt: cum aliquid incidit quod disturbet ac detegat, tunc apparet quantum altæ ac veræ fœditatis alienus splendor absconderit. Id. lib. de Provid. cap. 9.

(f) *Nulla modo magis potest Deus concupita traducere, quam si illa ad turpissimos deferat, ab optimis abigit. Ibid. cap. 5.*

(g) *Plut. in vit. Philop.*

whom the Romans called, by way of admiration, the last of the Greeks; this Philopemen was usually clad in a very plain dress, and often went abroad without any servant or attendance. In this manner he came alone to the house of a friend who had invited him to dinner. The mistress of the family, who expected the general of the Achæans, took him for a servant, and begged he would give her his assistance in the kitchen, because her husband was absent. Philopemen without ceremony threw off his cloke, and fell to the cleaving of the wood. The husband coming in that instant, and surprised at the oddness of the sight, “(h) How now, Lord Philopemen, says he, what’s the meaning of this?” “Oh, answered the other, “I am paying the interest of my bad looks.”

Scipio Æmilianus, who lived four and fifty years, never made any acquisition in all his life, and when he died, left only four and forty marks of silver plate and three of gold, though he had been master of all the wealth of Carthage, and had enriched his soldiers more than any other general. Being deputed by the senate of Rome, with full powers to restore discipline in the towns and provinces, and to inspect kings and nations, though descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and adopted into one of the richest, and though he had so august a character to support in the name of the Roman empire, he carried with him but one friend, and he was a (i) philosopher, and five servants, one of which dying upon the road, he contented himself with the four that remained, till one came from Rome to supply his place. As soon as he came to Alexandria with his small retinue his fame discovered him, notwithstanding all the care his modesty had taken to prevent it, and drew all the city to meet him upon his landing. (k) His per-

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son

(h) Τί τῆτο (ἔφη) Φιλοποίμην; Τί γὰρ ἄλλο, (ἔφη δαριζων ἐκείνος) ἢ κακὰς ὄψεως δίκας δίδωμι.

(i) Panætius.

(k) Cum per socios et exterarum gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quan-

son alone, without any other attendance than that of his virtues, his actions, and his triumphs, was enough to extinguish, even in the eyes of the people, the vain splendor of the king of Egypt, who was advanced to meet him with all his court, and drew upon him alone the eyes, the acclamations, and applauses of all the world.

(l) These examples teach us, that we ought not to value men by their outward appearance, any more than a horse by his trappings. An extraordinary merit may lye hid under a mean habit, as a rich garment may cover enormous vices. They shew us in the second place, that greater courage and resolution is required than one would easily imagine; to become superior to popular opinions, and to get the better of the false infamy which the world is pleased to cast upon a plain, poor, and frugal manner of living. Seneca, as much a philosopher as he was, or had a mind to be thought, had always somewhat of this false shame hanging about him; and (m) he owns himself, that going down sometimes to his country-seat in an ordinary chariot, he has blushed against his inclination, at the being caught upon the road in such an equipage by persons of distinction; a certain proof, as he says himself, that he had not thoroughly reduced to practice what he had said and wrote upon the advantages of a frugal life. He that blushed at a mean chariot, adds he, is fond of a finer. And he has made little progress in virtue, who dares not openly declare in favour of poverty and frugality, and is at all concerned about the judgment of spectators.

(n) Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, was herein a greater

quantum amplitudinis pondus secum ferret, aestimabatur. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 3. n. 13.

(l) Senec. Ep. 47.

(m) Vix a me obtineo, ut hoc vehiculum velim videri meum. Durat adhuc perversa recti verecundia. Quoties in aliquem comitatum lautiozem incidimus, invitus erubescit: quod argumentum est, ista quæ probo, quæ laudo, nondum habere certam fidem et immobilem. Qui sordido vehiculo erubescit, pretioso gloriatur. Parem ad huc profeci, nondum audeo frugalitatem palam ferre: etiam nunc curo opiniones viatorum, Senec. Epist. 87.

(n). Plut. in vit. Ages.

greater philosopher than Seneca. A Spartan education had armed him against this false shame. Pharnabazus, governor of one of the provinces belonging to the king of Persia, had desired to treat of peace with him; and the interview was appointed in the open field. The first appeared in all the pomp and luxury of the Persian court. He was dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold and silver. The ground was spread with rich carpets, and fine cushions were laid to sit down upon. Agesilaus, in a very plain dress, without any ceremony, sat himself down upon the grass. The pride of the Persian was confounded at his behaviour, and, unable to support the comparison, paid homage to the plainness of the Lacedæmonian, by following his example. And this, because a quite different train, which far outshone all the gold and silver of Persia, surrounded Agesilaus, and gained him reverence; I mean, his name, his reputation, his victories, and the terror of his arms, which made the king of Persia tremble even upon his throne.

The emperors (o) Nerva, (p) Trajan, (q) Antoninus and (r) Marcus Aurelius, sold the palaces, the gold and silver plate, the valuable furniture, and all the superfluities they could dispense with, which their predecessors had heaped up through a desire of possessing solely whatever was exquisitely curious. These princes, as also Vespasian, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander, Claudius II. and Tacitus, who were raised to the empire by their merit, and whom all ages have admired as the best and greatest of princes, always affected a great simplicity in their apparel, their furniture, and outward appearance, and despised whatever had the least tincture of pomp and luxury. And by retrenching all useless expences, (s) they found a greater fund in their own modesty, than the most avaricious in all their spoils; and, without endeavouring to set themselves off by an outward lustre,

C 2

shewed

(o) Dio.

(p) Plin. Paneg.

(q) Capitol.

(r) In vit. Marc. Aurel. Vict. Epit. et Eutrop.

(s) Plin. Paneg.

(t) shewed they were only emperors by the care they took of the public. In every thing else, they resembled other citizens, and lived like private men. But the lower they stooped in their condescensions, the greater and more august they appeared.

(u) Vespasian upon solemn days drunk out of a small silver cup, which had been left him by his grandmother who brought him up. (x) Trajan's retinue was very modest and moderate. He had no body to clear the way before him, and was pleased sometimes to be under a necessity of stopping in the streets to let the attendants of others pass by him.

(y) Marcus Aurelius was still more averse to every thing that had the air of pomp and luxury. He lay upon the bare ground; at twelve years old he took the habit of a philosopher; he forbore the use of guards, the imperial ornaments, and the ensigns of honour, which were carried before the Cæsars and the Augusti. Nor was this conduct owing to his ignorance of what was grand and beautiful, but to the juster and purer taste he had of both, and to an intimate persuasion, that the greatest glory, and principal duty of man, especially if in power, and eminently conspicuous, is so far to imitate the Deity, as to throw himself into a condition of wanting as little as may be for himself, and doing all the good to others he is capable of.

(z) Arnold d'Offat, who is so famous for his wonderful abilities in negociation, though his furniture fell far short of the dignity of a cardinal, refused to accept of the money, the chariot and horses, and the damask bed, which the cardinal de Joyeuse sent him as a present three weeks after his promotion. For, (a) says he, *though I have not all that, is requisite, to support this dignity, yet I will not for that reason renounce the abstinence and modesty I have always observed.*

(t) Dio. Lib. 66. Τῇ προνοίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν, αὐτοκρατορεὶς ἐνομιζέτο.

(u) Sueton. Vit. Vespas. cap. 2.

(x) Plin. Paneg.

(y) M. Aur. vit. Dio. Julian. Cas.

(z) Vie du Card. d'Offat.

(a) Let. 181.

ved. Such a disposition is far more extraordinary and valuable, than a magnificent equipage, and rich furniture.

(a) The tribune of the people, who became an advocate for the Roman ladies against the severity of Cato, and pleaded for the restoring to them, after the second Punic war, the right of wearing gold and silver in their apparel, seems to insinuate, that dress or ornament were in a manner their natural province; and that as they could not aspire to any preferments, to the priesthood, or the honour of a triumph, it would not only be cruel, but unjust, to refuse them a consolation, which the sole necessity of the times had taken from them. This reason might affect the people, but was not very honourable to the sex, as it taxes them with weakness and meanness, in representing them as fond of trifles. *Virorum hoc animos vulnerare posset, quid muliercularum censetis, quas etiam parva movent.*

Yet we learn from history, that the Roman ladies generously stript themselves of all their jewels, and presented all their gold and silver, (d) at one time, to enable the republic to discharge a vow made to Apollo, for which they had honourable distinctions granted them; (c) and at another, to redeem Rome from the Gauls, which procured them the right and privilege of being praised in funeral orations, as well as the men. (d) In the second punic war, the widows in like manner brought their gold and silver into the public treasury, to assist the state in the extreme necessity under which it groaned.

The famous Cornelia, daughter to the great Scipio, and mother to the Gracchi, is universally known. Her extraction was the noblest in Rome, and her family the richest. (e) A lady of Campania, coming to make her a visit, and lodging in her house, displayed with pomp, whatever was then most fashionable and valuable for the toilette, gold and silver, jewels, diamonds.

C 3

(a) Liv. lib. 34. n. 74.
Liv. lib. 24. n. 28.

(b) Liv. lib. 5. n. 25.

(c) lb. n. 50.

(e) Valer. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

monds, bracelets, pendants, and all that apparatus which the ancients called *mundum muliebre*. She expected to find somewhat still finer in the house of a person of her quality, and desired very importunately to see her toilette. Cornelia artfully prolonged the conversation till such time as her children came home, who were then gone to the public schools, and pointing to them as they entered, "See here, says she, are my jewels." *Et hac, inquit, ornamenta mea sunt.* We need only examine our own thoughts in relation to these two ladies, to find out how far superior the noble simplicity of the one was to the vain magnificence of the other. And indeed, what merit or ability is there in buying up a large collection of precious stones and jewels, in being vain of them, or in not knowing how to talk of any thing else? And, on the other hand, how truly worthy is it in a person of the first quality to be above such trifles, to place her honour and glory in the good education of her children, in sparing no expence towards the bringing it about, and in shewing, that nobleness and greatness of soul do equally belong to both sexes?

"(f) De Beaunes, archbishop of Bourges, in the oration he made to the states of Blois against luxury, and principally with respect to coaches, which several persons of mean condition began to make use of, highly commends the modesty of the premier president du Thou's lady, who, to set an example to other ladies of quality, was always contented to be carried behind another on horseback, when she made her visits in the town." What merits praise in this little story, is not the visiting on horseback (such were the customs of those times) but the noble greatness of soul in this lady, who thought, that the giving others an example of modesty and simplicity, was the best manner of supporting the dignity of her station, and becoming in reality a premier president.

IV. Of

(f) Opusc. de Leyfel.

IV. Of LUXURY in EATING and DRINKING.

This was carried, in the declension of the republic, to an almost incredible excess; and, under the emperors, they still rose upon the gluttony of their predecessors.

(g) Lucullus, who was in other respects a man of excellent qualities, upon his return from the war, attempted to substitute the glory of magnificence to that of his arms and battles, and turned all his studies that way. He laid out immense sums upon his houses and gardens, and was still more expensive at his table. He required it every day to be served up in the same sumptuous manner, though nobody was to dine with him. As his steward was one day excusing the meanness of his dinner, because there was no company, "Did you not know, (says he) that Lucullus was to eat at Lucullus's house to-day?" Tully and Pompey not giving credit to the reports of his ordinary magnificence, were resolved one day to surprize him, and be satisfied, whether it was so or not. And meeting him in public, they invited themselves and would not allow him to give any directions to his domestics about their entertainment. He therefore barely ordered that dinner should be served up in the hall of Apollo. The entertainment was got ready with so much celerity and opulence, as surprized and astonished his guests. They did not know that the *hall of Apollo* was a watch-word, and signified that the feast should amount to (h) fifty thousand drachms.

If good eating and drinking were capable of procuring solid glory, Lucullus was the greatest man of his age. But who sees not, how pitiful and silly it was to place his honour and reputation in making the world believe, that he every day squandered enormous and senseless expences for the gratification of his own private appetite? I question whether his

C 4.

guests,

(g) Plut. in Lucullo.

(h) 2500 livres.

guests, who mightily commended and admired, no doubt, such prodigious magnificence, were much wiser than he. For 'twas they supported his folly and distemper. (l) *Irritamentum est omnium in qua infamimus, admirator et conscius.* And the same may be said of all that outward magnificence, by which men strive to make themselves considerable, large apartments, valuable furniture, and rich garments. (k) 'Tis all for shew, and not for ease; for the spectator, and not for the master. Place him in solitude, and you make him frugal and modest, and all this vanity is at an end.

But to give a different instance of this folly. (l) A person entering Anthony's kitchen, was surpris'd to see eight wild boars roasting at the same time. He judg'd there was likely to be a great deal of company, but was mistaken. Whilst Anthony was at Alexandria, there was always a magnificent entertainment ready to be served up about supper time, that whenever Anthony was pleas'd to call for it, he might have his table covered with the most exquisite meats.

I forbear to mention such extravagant and wild expences, as a dish made up of the tongues of the scarcest birds in the universe, or several pearls of immense price infused and dissolved in a certain liquor, for the pleasure of swallowing down a million at a draught.

To these monsters of luxury, who are a disgrace to mankind, let us oppose the modesty and frugality of a Cato, the honour of his age and commonwealth; I mean the elder, who is usually surnamed the Censor. (m) He boasted that he had never drank any other wine, than such as was drunk by his workmen and domestics; never bought a supper which exceeded

(i) Senec. Ep. 94.

(k) Quid miraris? Quid stupes? Pompa est. Ostenduntur illares non possidentur. Senec. Ep. 110.

Ambitio et luxuria scenam desiderant; sanabis ista, si absconderis. Id. Ep. 94.

Assuescamus a nobis removere pompam, et usus rerum non ornamenta metiri. Id. de tran. anim. cap. 9.

(l) Plut. in vit. Anton.

(m) Plut. in vit. Cat. Cens.

exceeded thirty festeria, nor ever wore a garment which cost above an hundred drachms of silver. He learnt to live thus, he said, from the example of the famous Curius, that great man who drove Pyrrhus out of Italy, and had thrice the honour of a triumph. The house he had lived in, in the country of the Sabines, was near to Cato's, and for this reason he looked upon it as a model the more venerable from being in his neighbourhood. 'Twas this Curius the ambassadors of the Samnites found in a poor little cottage, sitting in the chimney corner boiling of roots, who rejected their presents with disdain, telling them, that whoever could be content with such a supper, did not want gold; and that for his part he thought it was honourable to command over those who had riches, than to have them himself.

These examples may be too old perhaps to make any impression upon the generality of mankind in our age; but they had such an effect upon several of the greatest Roman emperors, that though they were in full possession of riches and power; though they were to support the majesty of a large empire, and had the profusion of their predecessors in every kind before their eyes; they thought they could not aspire to be really great, but as they rose above that corruption of their own age, and resembled those venerable models of antiquity, formed upon the rules of the purest reason, and the justest taste of solid glory.

'Twas by studying these great originals, that Vespasian declared himself an enemy to all pomp, pleasures and entertainments, and that he followed the modesty and frugality of the antients in every thing about him. 'Twas by these virtues, he checked the course of public luxury and prodigality, especially with respect to eating. And this disorder, [n] which under Tiberius seemed to be past all remedy, and had increased excessively under the succeeding bad princes, and which the laws, armed with all the ter-

rors of punishment, had not been able to suppress [o] gave way to the bare example he set of sobriety and temperance, and the desire others had of pleasing him, by doing as he did. [p] In the same manner he threw a scandal and disgrace upon luxury, and effeminacy, by taking away a commission from a young man to whom he had given it, because he was perfumed when he came to thank him for it. *I had rather, said he, you had stunk of garlick.*

The Emperors Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Alexander, Pertinax, Aurelian, Tacitus, Claudius II. and Probus, all princes who have done the greatest honour to the Throne, guided by the same taste, and disciples of the same masters, always took care to be very frugal and modest in their tables, and banished all expence and delicacy from them with the utmost severity. Most of them, whilst in the camp, [q] eat the common food that was given to the army; and Alexander, to satisfy the soldiers that he fed as they did, caused his tent to be always open whilst he was at his meals. When he was not in the field, [r] the daily expence of his house, to our great astonishment, was so small, that now a-days it would scarce suffice a private family. He had no gold utensils, and his silver plate did not amount to three hundred marks; so that when much company was to dine with him, he would borrow the plate of his friends, with their servants to wait on them; not keeping more officers in his palace, than he commonly stood in need of. And this, not out of any parsimonious disposition, for never prince was more liberal, [s] but out of a thorough conviction, as he would often say, that the

[o] *Præcipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque: obsequium inde in principem et æmulandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus et metus, Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 55.*

[p] *Sueton. lib. 8. c. 8.*

[q] *Cheefe, beacon, beans, pulse.*

[r] *Fifteen pints of wine a day, thirty pounds of meat, and eighty pounds of bread. Only they added a green goose on feast days, and upon great solemnities, a pheasant or two, and two Capons.*

Lamp in vit. Alex.

[s] *Lamp. in vit. Alex.*

the grandeur and glory of the empire did not consist in splendor and magnificence, but in the strength of the state, and the virtue of those who governed it. [t] Ptolemy, King of Egypt had long before set a like example of modesty. He had very little plate in his palace, no more than was requisite for his own use. And when he invited any of his friends to dine with him, he would send and borrow theirs, [u] declaring it was more worthy of a king, to enrich others, than to be rich himself.

What is reported of the emperor Probus, [x] who holds one of the first places in the number of great princes, and under whom the Roman empire arrived at the highest pitch of happiness, is no less worthy of admiration. During his war with Persia, as he was sitting at dinner upon the bare ground, and eating a mess of pork and pease, word was brought him that the Persian ambassadors were arrived. Without changing either his posture or dress, which was no other than a purple coat, but made of woollen, and a cap which he wore for want of hair, he ordered them to be introduced, and told them that he was the emperor, and they might go and tell their master that if he did not take care, he would in a month's time lay all his fields as naked of trees and corn, as his head was of hairs; and at the same time, he took off his cap, to make them the better comprehend his meaning. He then invited them to eat part of his dinner, in case they were hungry; if not they had nothing to do, but to go back immediately. The ambassadors made their report to their prince, who was in a terrible fright, as well as his soldiers, that they had to deal with a people, who were such professed enemies to luxuries and pleasures. He came in person to meet the emperor, and granted him whatever he demanded.

But,

[t] The son of Lagus. Plut. in Apophthegm.

(u) Ἐὖ πλουτεῖν ἔλεγε τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον.

[x] Syneffius names him Carinus; but M. Tillemont, after F. Petavius is of opinion, that it agrees better with Probus.

But comparing all I have hitherto mentioned concerning pomp and simplicity ; on the one side, whatever is most splendid, riches magnificent buildings, furniture, fine clothes, and a table most sumptuously and delicately spread ; and on the other poverty, simplicity, frugality and modesty, but attended with victories, triumphs, consulships, dictatorial power, and even the empire of the world ; I leave it to the judgment of any man of good sense and reason, on which side lies the noble and great, and which he thinks deserves most his esteem and admiration. The decision will not be difficult. And it is this natural and unstudied sense of things, which I look upon as the rule of good taste in the point of solid glory and real grandeur.

In quoting these ancient examples of modesty and frugality, I have no design to propose them as perfect models of our imitation. Our age and manners cannot bear so masculine and robust a virtue. There are besides, certain rules of decency to be observed, and in every state and condition things may be reduced to an honest and commendable mediocrity, which will justify and direct the use of them. But how much ought we to be concerned, and ashamed to observe to what a degree our manners have degenerated from the virtue of the ancient Pagans ? And what efforts ought we not to make to conform, in some measure at least, to those primitive rules, though we are not so happy to have any longer the courage and liberty entirely to come up to them.

My design in these examples, is first to teach youth, that they ought not to look upon such as lead a poor and frugal life, as contemptible, or even unhappy. It is the reflection which Seneca draws from the example before us. Do we think, [x] says he, that our
an-

[x] Scilicet majores nostri, quorum virtus etiam nunc vitia nostra sustentat, infelices erant, qui sibi manu sua parabant cibum, quibus terra cubile erat, quorum tecta nondum auro fulgebant, quorum templa nondum gemmis nitebant. Senec, de consolat. ad ad Helv. cap. 10.

ancestors, whose virtues still support the empire, which our vices would have long ago destroyed, were much to be pitied, for dressing their own dinners, for lying on hard couches, for having neither gold nor diamonds in their houses and temples ?

I am sensible that one objection may be made to all I can say of the ancient Greeks and Romans. For though we may respect the examples of frugality, simplicity and poverty in Aristides, Cimon, Curius, Fabricius, Cato, &c. yet it is natural enough to make some abatements, from the persuasion that in poor republics it was scarce possible to live otherwise; and it is still doubtful with the generality of people, whether these examples can be of any use to our age, which is richer and more plentiful, and in which it would be ridiculous to attempt to imitate them. But, in my opinion, the example of the emperors amounts to full proof, and sets the matter beyond exception. In short if those masters of the world, whose riches are equal to their power, and who succeeded to emperors, that had carried luxury, pleasures, epicurism and extravagance to the utmost heights of excess, were still fond of frugality, modesty, simplicity, and poverty, what reasonable reply can be made on the maxims I have laid down upon this subject?

I would desire to know, whether those great princes I have spoken of, those men of extraordinary talents and superior genius, had not the taste of real greatness and solid glory; whether all nations and ages have been mistaken in the high encomiums they have given them; and whether any one ever ventured to charge them with having debased either the nobility of their birth, the dignity of their station, or the majesty of the empire; and whether, on the other hand, these are not the qualities which raised them the higher, and have universally drawn upon them the esteem, love, and admiration of posterity? Can any private person now imagine himself a better judge of real glory than they were? or should he think himself unhappy, or dishonoured

ed by being found in such illustrious company, and standing by a Trajan, an Antoninus, or a Marcus Aurelius? Shall we pay a greater regard to an Apicius, who setting up for a perfect master of the art of cookery, infected and corrupted his age by that wretched science? (y) *Qui scientiam popinae professus, disciplina sua seculum infecit.* Shall we prefer to the great examples I have quoted, those of Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Commodus, or Heliogabalus? For, to the inestimable good fortune of their people, all the good emperors in general, and without exception, have been of the character I here recommend: and all the bad emperors in the world are found in all opposite classes, with all the vices which I condemn.

My design, secondly, is, to instil into the boys a veneration for the original source and principle, from whence arose the generous contempt, which the great men of antiquity shewed for what the greatest part of mankind now admire and pursue. For it is this principle, this disposition of the mind, which is really estimable. A man may be reserved and modest in the midst of riches and honours, as he may be proud and avaricious in the obscurity of a poor and wretched life.

[z] The emperor Antoninus is judged to be one of the greatest princes that ever reigned. He was held in such reverence by all posterity, [a] that neither the Roman people, nor the soldiers could suffer any other emperor to be called after his name; and Alexander Severus himself found it too august, to venture upon assuming it. [b] Antoninus, through an equality of mind and greatness of soul, which rendered him independent of all without him, was usually satisfied with what was most plain and moderate. As he affected nothing particular in his food, lodging, bed, domestics, or dress, wearing only the common stuffs, and such as was readiest to be met with;

(y) Senec. de consol. ad Helv. cap. 10.

[z] Din. lib. 70. Capitol. in vit. T. Antonio.

[a] Capitol. in vit. Macrin. Diad. Getæ. Lamprid. in vit. Alex.

[b] Aurel. lib. 1. c. 18. et lib. 6. c. 23.

with ; so he would make use of the conveniencies which offered, without rejecting them through affectation ; equally ready to use every thing with moderation, or lay it aside without uneasiness.

It was this disposition of mind, the wife of Tubero, whom I have already spoke of, particularly admired in her husband, according to the judicious observations of Plutarch. " She was not ashamed, " (b) says the historian, of her husband's poverty ; " but admired in him the virtue which made him " consent to remain poor : " that is the motive which retained him in his poverty, by disapproving the means of becoming rich, which are usually dishonest and unjust. For the lawful ways of accumulating wealth were very rare to a noble Roman ; as he could not apply himself to business and trade, nor expect any gratification or pension, or other kind of benefit, which officers usually now receive from the liberality of our princes, by way of recompence for the services he did the state. There was scarce any other way of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as our magistrates and generals did. And it was this greatness of soul, this disinterestedness, this delicacy and love of justice, which made him reject all unworthy means of throwing off his poverty, that this lady so deservedly admired in him. Infinitely above the common sentiments of the world, she discerned through the veils of poverty and simplicity, the greatness of soul which occasioned them, and thought herself obliged to respect her husband still more upon that very account, which might perhaps have rendered him contemptible to other women ; θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἧς πένης ἦν.

In my opinion, the youth should principally be put upon taking notice of such passages as these, whilst they are reading history, as nothing is more capable of forming their taste and judgment, to which the care of masters ought entirely to tend.

It

(d) Οὐκ αἰσχυνομένη τὴν πνίαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἧς πένης ἦν.

It is of service also to confirm these instructions by examples taken from the modern history, and especially of the great men whose memory is still recent. Who has not heard of M. de Turenne's simplicity and modesty in his retinue and equipage? "He strives to conceal himself," says M. Flechier in his funeral oration; "but his reputation discovers him. He marches without a train of attendants, whilst every man in his own mind places him upon a triumphal car. As he passes by, the enemies he has conquered are reckoned, and not the servants which followed him. Alone as he is, we imagine him surrounded in all places with his virtues and victories. There is something extremely noble in this elegant simplicity; and the less haughty he is, the more venerable he becomes." His character was exactly the same in all respects, in his buildings, his furniture, and his table. M. de Catinat, the worthy disciple of such a master, imitated him in his simplicity, as well as in his military virtues.

I have heard some officers say, who had served under these two great men, that in the army, their tables were well supplied, but with great plainness; that they were plentiful, but military; that they eat only of common food, and drank only of the wine of the country where the troops lay.

Mareschal de la Ferté, when no longer able to serve, through his great age and infirmities, ordered his son's equipage for the campaign to be got ready. His Steward, having made ample provision of truffles, morelles, and all the other materials that were requisite to make excellent ragouts, by the son's direction, brought in the bill. The Mareschal had scarce cast his eye upon it, before he threw it away in a passion: "It is not thus, said he, that we made war. Coarse meat, plainly dressed, was all the ragouts we had. Go, tell my son, that I will not put myself for nothing to so foolish an expence, and so unworthy of a foldier. This I was.

was told by an officer that was present. And the same gentleman observed, that in the late war, the officers that met at Paris, seldom entertained themselves with any other food, than such as they had eaten during the campaign.

Lewis XIV. in the military code he has left behind him, which contains divers regulations for the soldiery, besides what relates to plate, equipage, and dress, (e) particularly recommends plainness and frugality in eating; and, to this end, enters into a very particular detail, and forbids an expensive and sumptuous table, under severe penalties. Thus a prince, who knows how to govern, easily comprehends how important it is to the state, to banish all luxury and magnificence from the camp; (f) to suppress the senseless ambition of such as strive to distinguish themselves (g) by a false politeness, and the study of what softens and enervates mankind; and to cover with shame, such profusions as consume in a few months, what might serve for several years, *or be so much more nobly applied in relieving the distresses, and promoting the happiness of mankind.*

V. Ho-

(e) Sa majesté voulant par toutes voies ôter les moïens aux officiers généraux de ses armées de se constituer en des dépenses inutiles et superflues, comme celles qui se font en leurs tables, s'étant introduit une méchante contume de faire dans les armées des repas plus magnifiques et somptueux qu'ils ne font ordinairement en leurs maisons; ce qui non seulement incommode les plus riches, mais ruine entièrement les moins accommodés, qui à leur exemple, PAR UNE FAUSSE REPUTATION, croient être obligés de les imiter. . . . Defend sa majesté aux lieutenans généraux, &c. qui tiendront table, d'y faire servir autre chose que des potages et du roti, avec des entrées et entremets qui ne seront que de grosses viandes, sans qu'il puisse y avoir aucunes assiettes volantes ni hors d'œuvre, &c. Réglemens du 24 Mars 1672, et du premier Avril 1705.

[1] Ambitione stolidi luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum, et irritamenta libidinum, ut instrumenta belli, lucrantur. Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 88.

[g] Paulatim discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, balnea, et conviviorum elegantium; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocatur. Tacit. in vit. Agric. cap. 21.

V. HONOURS. DIGNITIES

Posts of preferment, and the marks of respect annexed to them, may flatter the ambition and vanity of mankind, but in themselves include no real glory or solid greatness, as they are foreign to them, as they are not always the proof and reward of merit, as they add nothing to the good qualities either of body or mind, as they correct none of our faults, but often, on the contrary, serve only to multiply and make them more remarkable, by making them conspicuous, and exhibiting them in a stronger light. Those who judge best, without suffering themselves to be dazzled by empty shew, have always held dignities as burdens which they were loaded with, rather than honoured by; and the higher they have been raised, the heavier and more dreadful the weight has appeared. There is nothing so splendid in the eyes of mankind, as royalty and sovereign power, and nothing at the same time is so laborious and oppressive. The glory which surrounds it, makes us with reason admire such persons as have had the courage to refuse it; and the labour and pains which are inseparable from it, makes us still more admire such as rightly discharge all the duties of it.

The young Sidonians, who refused the sceptre which was offered them, well understood, as Hæphæstion tells them, that it was far more glorious to despise, than to accept royalty; [h] *Primi intellectis, quanto majus esset regnum fastidire, quam accipere.* And the answer of Abdalonymus, whom they had raised from the dust to a throne, sufficiently explains his opinion of it. Alexander asking him how he had born his condition of poverty and misery; "Would to God, says he, I could bear royalty with as much courage and resolution!" *Utinam,*

[h] Q. Curt. lib. 4. n. 1.

nam, inquit, eodem animo regnum pati possim! The phrase, *regnum pati*, "to bear royalty," is very expressive, and plainly shews that he thought it a heavier and more dangerous burden than poverty.

We shall see hereafter in what manner the Romans were forced to offer violence to Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, before he would accept of an authority, which seemed to him the more formidable, as it gave him an almost unlimited power, and, under the specious title of king and master, made him the actual servant and slave of all his subjects.

[i] Tacitus and Probus, who did so much honour to the real dignity, were both advanced to the empire against their will. The first urged his great age and weakness, which made him incapable of marching at the head of an army; [k] but the whole senate answered, that the empire was entrusted to his understanding and prudence, and that it was his merit they chose, and not his body. And a letter, which Probus wrote to one of the principal officers of the empire, fully explains his real sentiments. "I never desired, says he, the place I possess; I was raised to it against my will, and continue in it only through an apprehension of exposing the republic and myself to new dangers by deserting it."

[l] Upon the death of the emperor Maximilian, there arose very powerful factions in behalf of those who laid claim to the empire. The two principal competitors were Francis I. and Charles V. The Electors, to put an end to these disputes, resolved to exclude them both, as being foreigners, and to place the imperial crown upon one of their own nation, and of the number of the Electors. They therefore unanimously chose Frederick of Saxony, furnished

[i] Vopisc. in vit. Probi et Taciti.

[k] Quis melius quam senex imperat? Imperatorem te, non militem facimus. Tu jube, milites pugnent; animum tuum, non corpus, eligimus.

[l] Vie de Charles V. par Leti.

surnamed the Wise, who desired two days to consider of it; on the third, he thanked the Electors with great modesty, but told them that at his age he found himself unable to support so great a burden. And continuing firm in this resolution, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, the Electors desired he would nominate the person he judged most proper, and assured him they would conform to his advice. Frederick long refused it, but at last being forced upon it by the pressing instances of the Electors, he declared in favour of the Catholic king.

What we have here said of sovereign power, may be applied to all posts in the state, and all offices of magistracy. The wisest princes have set aside the ambitious, and raised such as declined employments. (m) They saw, notwithstanding the darkness of infidelity, "that the republic could only be trusted with security to such as had merit enough to fear the administration of it." And they inquired with so much care after persons worthy of the great offices of state, that they found men, to whom it was necessary to use violence, before they would accept of them, as Pliny observes of Trajan.

All these examples prove, that there is nothing really great in honours and dignities, but the danger which surrounds them; that true glory consists in knowing how to look upon them with a generous contempt, or in accepting them only for the public good; that solid greatness consists in renouncing greatness itself; that a man becomes a slave from the moment he is fond of it, and that he is superior to it, only when he contemns it.

VI. VICTORIES. NOBILITY of BLOOD. ABILITIES. REPUTATION.

I join all these under one title, though very different in themselves, because they have all something in them

(m) Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Serv.

them extremely flattering and delusive, and seem to have somewhat more directly personal and peculiar to their possessors. But though they are far superior to the advantages already spoken of, yet solid glory and real greatness do not however consist in them.

VICTORIES.

If there be any thing capable of exalting man above his nature, and giving him a superiority that distinguishes him from the rest of mankind, it seems to be the glory which results from battles and victories. A prince, a general, marching at the head of a numerous army, whose eyes are all bent upon him; who by a single signal actuates that vast body, of which himself is the soul, and sets an hundred thousand arms in motion; who carries terror and consternation along with him wherever he goes; who sees the strongest ramparts and highest towers fall down before him; at whose presence, in a word, the whole universe trembling and affrighted keeps silence; such a man seems to be something mighty grand, and to come very near the Divinity.

And yet if we coolly, rationally, and without prejudice examine the famous heroes of antiquity, those illustrious conquerors, we shall often find that this glittering shew of warlike actions is but a vain phantom, which may impose upon us at a distance, but disappears and vanishes in proportion as we approach it; and that all this pretended glory has often had no other principle and foundation, but ambition, avarice, injustice, and cruelty.

This, Seneca observes of the greatest warriors, and such as have had the largest share in the admiration of all ages. We find, (n) says he, abundance of heroes, who have carried fire and sword into many nations; have stormed towns, which, till their time, were held impregnable; have conquered and ravaged

ged vast provinces, and marched to the utmost limits of the earth, covered over with the blood of all opposers. But these conquerors of so many nations, were themselves overcome by their passions. They found nobody that could resist them, but were themselves unable to resist their own ambition and cruelty.

Can we call the furious disposition of Alexander, which led him into distant and unknown countries, only with a view to plunder them, by any other name than madness? Was he wise, for depriving every private man, every country, of what was most dear and valuable, and for spreading desolation wherever he came, beginning with Greece, to which he owed his education? How intoxicated must he have been with glory, who thought the whole world too little for him! [o] He one day asked a pirate, whom he had taken, what right he thought he had to infest the seas? "The same, answered he boldly, that you have to over-run the world. But because I do it in a small vessel, I am called a robber; and you are named a conqueror, for doing it with a great fleet." A very sharp answer, and, what is more, a true one.

[p] What was it that extinguished in the heart of Cæsar, all the sentiments of fidelity, submission, justice, humanity, and gratitude, he owed to his republic, which had chosen him from the rest of the citizens, to advance him to the highest command, and lavish upon him its honours and dignities, but an immoderate ambition, and an illusion of false glory, which inspired him with an ardent desire of seeing all mankind under subjection to himself, and induced

[o] *Eleganter et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur, ut mare haberet infestum; ille libera contumacia: quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna classe, imperator. A fragment of Tully's third book, de Republ. quoted by S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib 4. c. 4.*

[p] *Quid C. Cæsarem in sua fata pariter ac publica immisit? Gloria et ambitio, et nullus supra cæteros eminendi modus. Sen. Ep. 94.*

induced him to say, that he would rather chuse to be the principal man in a village, than the second in Rome? What other motive induced him to turn those very arms against his country, she had put into his hands to be employed against the enemies of the state, and to make use of all the power and greatness he held only from her, to put her to the sword, after having deluged her in the blood of her children? [q] He doubtless thought, as Civilis the chief of the rebels, who endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke, expressed it, that nothing was unlawful to a man when in arms, nor any body accountable for a victory; *victriciæ rationem non reddi*.

Every equitable and rational man, who shall read over attentively all the lives of the famous men among the Greeks and Romans, as they stand in Plutarch; if he examines and asks his own heart the question, will find that it is not Alexander or Cæsar he prefers before all the rest; that they were neither the greatest, nor the most accomplished, nor such as did the most honour to human nature; and that he does not judge them to be the most deserving of his esteem, love, and veneration, nor of the just praises of posterity.

Besides, military valour often leaves the men, whom conquests have made famous, very weak and mean at other times, and with reference to other objects. [r] Made up of good and bad qualities, they strive to appear great, when exposed to open view; but return to their natural littleness, as soon as they are left to themselves, and the eyes of mankind taken off from them. 'Tis surprising, when we see them alone and without armies, what a mighty difference there is between a general and a great man.

In order to their passing a right judgment upon these famous conquerors, 'tis necessary to teach youth carefully to distinguish what is valuable to them, from what deserves to be censured. In doing justice to
their

[q] Tacit. hist. lib. 4. c. 14.

[r] *Malis bonisque artibus mixtus, &c. Palam landares; se- creta male audiebant.* Tacit. hist. lib. 1. cap. 10.

their courage, activity, ability in business, and prudence, they must be blamed for frequently mistaking the use they should have made of those great qualifications, and employing such talents as in themselves are always estimable, to the gratification of their vices and passions, which should have been made subservient only to virtue. For want of distinguishing things so different, it is but too usual to confound their real with their pretended motives, the private ends they proposed to themselves with the means of attaining them, and their abilities with the abuse they have made of them; and, by an error still more pernicious, in suffering ourselves to be too much carried away by their great actions, which have lustre enough to conceal their vices and injustice, we pay them an entire and unexceptionable regard, and accustom unattentive persons to place vice in the room of virtue, and highly commend what deserves to be blamed. 'Tis the justice of the war, and the wisdom of the conqueror alone, which can render a victory glorious, and worthy our admiration. For it must be laid down as a principle, that glory and justice are inseparable; [s] *Nihil honestum esse potest, quod justitiâ vacat*; and [t] if 'tis private passion, and not the public advantage, that puts us upon facing dangers, such a disposition does not deserve the name of courage and resolution, but should rather be called ferocity and audaciousness.

[u] A memorable speech of the Chevalier Bayard's, as he was dying, shews the truth of what I have here been speaking. He had received a mortal wound, as he was fighting for his king, and was lying down at the foot of a tree. The constable duke de Bourbon, who was pursuing the army of the French, passing by, and knowing him, told him he was very much concerned to see a person of his merit in such a condition. Captain Bayard answered him,

[Offic. lib. 1. n. 62.]

[t] *Animus paratus ad periculum, si sua cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur, audaciæ potius nomen habeat, quam fortitudinis. Ibid. n. 63.*

[u] Hist. du Cheval. Bayard.

him, Sir, there is no concern due to me, for I die like an honest man; but I am concerned for you indeed, to see you fighting against your prince, your country, and your oath. And shortly after he gave up the ghost. Now, where lay the glory? on the side of the conqueror? or was not the fate of the dying person far preferable to his?

NOBILITY of BIRTH.

It must be owned there is a powerful charm (u) in nobility of birth, and the antiquity of families, to procure esteem, and gain upon the inclinations of mankind. This respect, which it is natural to have for the nobility (x) is a kind of homage we think ourselves still obliged to pay to the memory of their ancestors for the great services they have done the state, and is the continued payment of a debt, which could not fully be discharged to them in person; and, for this reason, extends to all their posterity.

(y) besides the tie of gratitude, which engages us not to limit our respect for great men to the time wherein they live, as they do not themselves confine their zeal to such narrow bounds but strive to become useful to future ages; the public interest requires, that we should pay this tribute of honour and regard to their descendants, as it is an encouragement to them to support and perpetuate the reputation of their ancestors in their family, by endeavouring to perpetuate also the same virtues, which have rendered their predecessors so illustrious.

Vol. III.

D

But

(u) *Erat hominum opinioni nobilitate ipsa, blanda conciliatricula commendatus. Cic. pro. Sext. n. 21.*

(x) *Qua in oratione plerique hoc perficiunt, ut tantum majoribus eorum debitum esse videatur, unde etiam, quod posteris solveretur, redundaret. De leg. agr. ad popul. n. 1.*

(y) *Senec. de Benef. lib. 4. cap. 30.*

(z) *Omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus, et quia utile est reipublice nobiles homines esse dignos majoribus suis, et quia valet nos clarorum hominum, et bene de republica meritorum, meminerit etiam mortuorum. Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.*

But to make this honour which is paid to nobility, a real homage, it must be voluntary, and proceed from the heart. The moment it is claimed as a debt, or forcibly demanded, the right to it is lost, and it changes into hatred and contempt. People are too well pleased with themselves not to be offended at the haughtiness of a man, who thinks every thing is due to him because he is well born, and looks down from the height of his rank with contempt upon the rest of mankind. For what mighty glory is it in reality to reckon up a long series of ancestors illustrious by their virtues, without bearing any resemblance to them? Is the merit of others transferred upon us? (a) Or will a large collection of family pictures, hung round a hall, make a man considerable? If the honour of families consists in being able to trace back their pedigree to distant ages, till they lose themselves in the darkness of an obscure and unknown antiquity, (b) we are all equally noble in this respect; for we had all an original equally ancient.

(c) We must therefore run to the only source of true nobility, which is virtue and merit. (d) Nobles have been seen to dishonour their name by low and abject vices, and persons of mean extraction have advanced and enobled their families by their great qualities. 'Tis honourable to support the glory of one's ancestors by actions which correspond with their reputation; and it is also glorious to leave a title in one's descendants, which is not borrowed from our predecessors; to become the head and author of our own nobility; and, to use the expression of Tiberius, who was desirous of hiding the defect of birth in Curtius Rufus, though otherwise a very great man (e) *to be born of one's own self*. "I can-

(a) Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus. . . Animus facit nobilem. Senec Ep. 44.

(b) Eadem omnibus principia, eademque origo. Nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui rectius ingenium, et artibus bonis aptius. Senec. lib. 3. de benef. cap. 28.

(c) Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus. Juv. lib. 3. sat. 8.

(d) Senec. contrav. 6. lib. 1.

(e) Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus. Tacit. annal. lib. 11.

"I cannot" said formerly an illustrious Roman, who was reproached by the nobility for his mean extraction, "publicly produce the statues of my ancestors, their triumphs, nor their consulships; but, if need be, I can produce the military rewards I have been honoured with; I can shew the wounds I have received in fighting for my country. (f) These are my statues, these my title to nobility, which I have not borrowed from my ancestors, but acquired by the labour and dangers I have undergone."

(g) There was at Rome in the beginning of the republic, a kind of open war between the nobility and the people. The nobles at first thought themselves dishonoured by marrying into a plebeian family. They looked upon themselves as another species of men. It seemed as if they could not bear that the populace should breathe the same air with them, or enjoy the same benefit of the sun's light. And they had set such a barrier between the people and honours, that merit was scarce able afterwards to break through it. There always remained something of this opposition and antipathy between the two orders; and Sallust observes, speaking of Metellus, that his excellent qualities were sullied and tarnished by an air of haughtiness and contempt; a fault says he, which is but too usual among the nobility. (h) "*Cui quanquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tament inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum.*"

We should therefore consider, that the nobility arising from birth, is by far inferior to that which proceeds from merit; and, to be convinced of it, we need only compare them together. (i) Pope Clement VIII. made a promotion of several cardinals, and among the rest he advanced two Frenchmen, M. d'Ossat, and the count de la Chapelle, who afterwards took the

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name

(f) *Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus et periculis quæsi.* Sallust in bello Jugurth. (g) Liv. lib. 4. n. 3.

(h) Sall. in bell. Jugurth. (i) Vie du C. d'Ossat, par. M. Amel.

name of cardinal de Sourdis, from the estate of his family; the former, a man *in whom the Pope found nothing wanting but a descent from a better family*, he was so well supplied with every other qualification; and the other, a person that had nothing but his family to recommend him. Which of these two would one chuse to resemble most?

(k) Cardinal Granville, speaking of cardinal Ximenes, was wont to say, *That time had oft concealed the original of great men under the veils of oblivion; that he (for instance) was doubtless sprung from royal blood, or at least he had the heart of a King in the person of a private man.*

But if it shews a greatness of soul to overlook our own nobility, and not suffer it to gain the ascendant over our actions; we may likewise observe, that it is no less great in such as have raised themselves by merit, not to forget the meanness of their extraction, nor to be ashamed of it.

(l) Vespasian did not only not seek to hide it, but would often glory in it, and publicly made a jest of those, who by a false genealogy would have derived their pedigree from Hercules.

(m) The same emperor without being ashamed of an object, which continually renewed the remembrance of his original, went constantly every year, even after he came to the empire, to pass his summer in a small country house near Rieti, where he was born, and to which he would never make any addition or embellishment. (n) His son Titus caused himself to be carried thither in his last illness, that he might die in the place where his father had begun and ended his days. (o) Pertinax, the greatest man of his age, and soon after advanced to the empire, during the three years he tarried in Liguria, lodged in his father's house; and raising a great number of
fine

(k) Hist. de Ximen. par M. Flechier, liv. 6.

(l) Suet. in. vit. Vesp. c. 12.

(m) Suet. vit. Tit. c. 11.

(n) Ibid. c. 2.

(o) Capitolin. vit. Petr.

fine buildings around it, he left the (p) cottage in the midst, an illustrious monument of his low birth, and his greatness of soul. One would think that these princes affected to recal the memory of their former condition, so much the greatness of their personal merit, (sensible it could sustain itself) was above any outward support. In short, we do not see throughout the whole Roman empire, that any body ever reproached them with the obscurity of their original, or abated one tittle of the veneration due to their virtues upon this account.

(q) Pope Benedict XII. was the son of a miller, whence he came to be called the *White Cardinal*. He never forgot his former condition; and when he was upon marrying his niece, he refused to give her to the great lords who sued for her, and married her to a tradesman. He said, the Popes should be like Melchisedeck, without relations; and often used these words of the prophet, (r) *If they that belong to me get not dominion, I shall be undefiled, and innocent from the great offence.*

(s) John de (t) Brogni, cardinal de Viviers, who presided at the council of Constance as dean of the cardinals, had been a hog driver in his infancy. Some monks passing by as he was busied in that sorry employment, and taking notice of his wit and vivacity, offered to carry him to Rome, and bring him up to study. The boy accepted of their offer, and went straight to a shoemaker to buy a pair of shoes for his journey; the shoemaker trusted him with part of the price, and told him smiling, he should pay the rest when he was made a cardinal. He became a cardinal in reality, and was not only not unmindful of his former low condition, but took care to perpetuate the memory of it. In a chapel he built at (u) Geneva, over against the gate of St. Peter's church, he caused this adventure to be carved in stone, where

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(p) Tabernam. (q) Dict. de Moreri. (r) Ps. xix. 13.

(s) Hist. du Conc. de Constance, par J. l'Enfant.

(t) Brogni is a village near Anneci, betw en Chamberi and Geneva. (u) He was for some time bishop of that See.

he is represented young and without shoes, keeping hogs under a tree; and all round the walls are the figures of shoes, to express the favour he had received from the shoemaker. This monument is still subsisting at Geneva.

TALENTS of the MIND.

How splendid soever the glory of arms and birth may appear, there is something which more nearly concerns us, which we derive from learning and the talents of the mind. This seems to be more immediately our own, and entirely peculiar to us. 'Tis not limited, like that of arms, to certain times and occasions, nor depends upon a thousand foreign assistances. It gives a man a superiority far more agreeable than that which proceeds from riches, birth, or employments, as these are all external; whereas the mind is properly our own, or rather is ourselves, and constitutes our every essence.

Yet it is not the mind alone, in which the solid glory of man consists. Suppose him excellent in himself, and adorned with the knowledge of every thing that is most curious and requisite in the sciences, philosophy, mathematics, history, the *belles lettres*, poetry and eloquence: All this make a man learned, but do not make him good. (u) “Non faciunt bonos ista, sed doctos.” And if a man be only learned, what is he very often but a vain, obstinate creature, full of himself, and despising all others, and, in one word, an *animal of glory*? For thus Tertullian describes the most learned among the heathen, “animal gloriæ.”

Can any thing be more pitiful, or more contemptible, than such a man, vainly puffed up with the notion of his own learning and abilities, greedy and insatiable after praise, feeding upon wind and smoke, and striving only to live in the opinion of others? (x) Philip the father of Alexander the Great, beautifully

(u) Senec. Ep. 106. (x) Ælian, lib. 12. c. 51. Athen. lib. 7. c. 10.

fully exposed the ridicule of this character in a physician named Menecrates, who had the vanity to take upon himself the surname of *Jupiter Servator*, upon account of some extraordinary cures he had wrought, which he attributed wholly to his own skill. Having invited him to dinner, he was placed at a table by himself, on which was served up a vessel smoaking with incense. The doctor at first thought himself highly honoured; but having nothing to eat during the rest of the entertainment, he soon perceived the meaning of the smoak of the incense; and thus serving for a laughing-stock to the rest of the company, he went away hungry from the feast, with the title of Jupiter, and the shame he had so justly deserved, in ascribing to his own abilities a success derived from heaven.

The honour therefore, which science and genius confer, does not result merely from learning, and the talents of the mind, but the good use made of them; and we may truly say, that modesty exalts their lustre and value infinitely more than any thing else. 'Tis a pleasure to see great men sometimes owning themselves in the wrong, as the famous (y) Hippocrates has done in relation to one of the futures of the skull, about which he had been led into a mistake. Such a confession, (z) as Celsus observes, referring to the page I am speaking of, argues an uncommon fund of merit in the person that makes it, and an elevation of soul, which is very sensible that such slips are not capable of being any prejudice to it; whereas a little mind, which cannot disguise its poverty, is careful to run no risk, nor willingly to lose the smallest share of the little it possesses.

'Tis a pleasure also to see learned men disputing without bitterness, anger, or passion, as Tully tells

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us

(y) Lib. ἐπειρημίων ε.

(z) De futuris se deceptum esse Hippocrates memoriz prodidit, more magnorum virorum, et fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil sibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habiuro, convenit etiam veri erroris simplex confessio. Cels. lib. 8. cap. 4.

us he was disposed to do: "Nos et refellere sine perti-
 "nacia, et refelli sine iracundia, parati sumus." [a] Our
 age has furnished us with several instances of this
 virtue; but had we no other than F. Mabillon, he
 should do infinite honour to literature. In his dis-
 putes with the famous Abbe de la Trape, his mildness
 and moderation, as we all know, gave him a great
 advantage over his adversary. There was another,
 who was able to dispute with him, as well in point of
 modesty as learning; this was F. Papebrochius,
 who gave occasion to his writing his book, *De re di-
 plomatica*.

"I own," says this learned Jesuit, in a Latin letter
 he wrote to F. Mabillon upon this subject, which he
 gave him leave to publish, "that I have no other
 "satisfaction in having wrote upon this matter, than
 "that of having given you an opportunity of draw-
 "ing up so accurate a performance. 'Tis true, at
 "first I found some uneasiness, upon reading your
 "book, to see myself confuted in such a manner, as
 "I knew not how to answer; but the usefulness and
 "beauty of so valuable a work soon conquered my
 "weakness; and overjoyed to see the truth set in so
 "clear a light, I invited my companion in study to
 "share with me in my admiration. For which reason,
 "make no scruple as often as you have opportunity,
 "to declare publicly, that I am wholly of your opi-
 "nion."

There is an artificial and studied modesty, which co-
 vers a secret pride; but here we have an ingenuous sim-
 plicity, which shews plainly it came from the heart. I
 cannot finish what I have to say upon F. Mabillon, with-
 out taking notice, that the late archbishop of Rheims
 (le Tellier) presenting him to king Lewis XIV. said
 to him thus: *Sir, I have the honour to present to your
 Majesty, the most learned and most modest monk in your
 kingdom.*

Another character still, which is very amiable in a
 man of learning, is to be always ready to let others
 share

[a] Acad. Quæst. lib. 2. n. 5.

share in his labours, to communicate his remarks to them, to assist them with his reflections, and to contribute to the utmost of his power to the perfection of their works. I question whether any one ever carried this point farther than M. de Tillemont. His collections and extracts, which were the fruit of many years labour, became the property of every one that had occasion for them. He was never afraid, as is too usual among men of learning, that his works should lose the merit of invention, or the grace of novelty, by being shewn to others before they were published. And the same praise is due to [b] Mr. d'Herouval. Though a contempt of glory and vain reputation prevented him from publishing any thing himself, yet his zeal for the public good gave him a share in almost all the works that were sent abroad in his time, by his communicating to the authors, his discoveries, his observations, and his manuscripts.

REPUTATION.

This is looked upon as the dearest and most valuable treasure belonging to mankind, even by persons of the greatest probity; and an indifference concerning it, and much more the despising it, seem absolutely not to be admitted. [c] What can be expected indeed from one that is unconcerned about the judgment which the rest of the world, and especially men of honesty, shall pass upon his conduct! 'Tis not only, as Tully observes, the sign of insupportable pride and conceitedness, but the mark of having perfectly abandoned all modesty.

And yet to be over-solicitous after praise, to be greedy of it, and eager in pursuing it, and to seem in some measure to beg it; instead of being the character of a great soul, is the most certain sign of a

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vain

[b] Ant. de Vion. auditeur des compres.

[c] Adhibenda est quædam reverentia et optimi cujusque, et reliquorum. Nam negligere quid de se quisque sentiat, non solum arrogantis est, sed etiam omnino dissoluti. Offic. lib. 1. n. 99.

vain and light disposition, which feeds upon wind, and takes the shadow for the substance.

Yet this is the weakness of the most part of mankind, and sometimes even of such as are distinguished by peculiar merit, which induces them often to seek for glory where it is not to be found.

[d] Philip of Macedon was not the most scrupulous in his choice of the means, which were to procure him a solid reputation. He was fond of every kind of glory, and on every kind of occasion. He was, as an orator, vain of his eloquence. He reckoned upon the victories his chariots had gained in the Olympic games, and took great care to have them engraved on his coins. He gave lessons in music, and undertook to correct the masters of it; which occasioned one of them to make that ingenious answer, which, without offence, was very capable of shewing him his error: *God forbid, Sir, you should ever be so unhappy as to know these matters better than I do.* He himself gave a like lesson to his son, for having shewn too much skill in music at an entertainment; *Are you not ashamed,* says he to him, *that you can sing so well?* In short, there are certain branches of knowledge, which are very commendable in private persons, whose only business it is to follow them, that a prince ought but slightly to be acquainted with, as it would be beneath his dignity to affect a greater skill in them, and as his time ought to be taken up in matters of greater weight and importance. [e] Nero, who did not want for wit and spirit, was blamed for neglecting the occupations proper to his station, and amusing himself with engraving, painting, singing, and driving of chariots. A prince, who has a taste of true glory, does not aspire to such a reputation. He understands what it is deserves his application, and from what he should abstain;

[d] Plut. in vit. Alex.

[e] Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum animum in alia detorsit, calare, et pingere, cantus aut regimen equorum exercere. Tacit. Annal. lib. 13. cap. 3.

abstain; and how great an inclination soever he may have for the sciences, even the most valuable, he does not give himself up intirely to them, but studies them like a prince, *i. e.* with that sober and discreet moderation, which [f] Tacitus admired in his father-in-law Agricola, "Retinuit quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum."

[g] Tully finds a pitiful vanity, in the secret joy which Demosthenes felt upon hearing himself praised by a poor herb-woman, as he was passing by. And yet he himself was much fonder of commendation than the Greek orator.

[h] This he freely owns, upon an occasion where he surprisngly describes the effects of human weakness. He was returning from Sicily, where he had been quæstor, with a strong imagination that nothing was talked of in Italy but himself, and that his quæstorship was the subject of every tongue. Passing by Puzzoli, whither the baths had drawn abundance of company. Is it long, says somebody to him, since you left Rome? Pray what is doing there? I, says he in great surprize, am just come from my province. That's true, says the other? I beg pardon, from Africa. No, answers Tully with an air of scorn and indignation, from Sicily. Why, says a third, who pretended to know more than the rest, don't you know that he has been quæstor at Syracuse? where indeed he had not, for his province lay in a different part of the island. Tully was quite out of countenance, and, to get rid of the affair, threw himself into the crowd, and so marched off: And this adventure, he adds, was more useful to him, than all the compliments he had expected could have been.

And yet it does not appear, that he was less fond of praise afterwards, than he had been before. All the world knows how carefully he laid hold of every opportunity to talk of himself, so as to become
insup-

[f] Vit. Agric. cap. 4.

[g] Tusc. Quæst. lib. 5. n. 103.

[h] Cic. orat. pro Planc. n. 64, 66.

insupportable. But nothing lets us more into his character, than his (i) letter to the historian Luceius, in which he openly and ingenuously discovers his weakness in this particular. He pressed him to write the history of his consulship, and publish it in his life-time; to the end, said he, that I may be the better known, and personally enjoy my glory and reputation; “ut et cæteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant, et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur.” He importunes him not to keep scrupulously to the strict laws of history, but to make some allowances to friendship, even at the expence of truth, and not be afraid of speaking more to his advantage, than perhaps he thought was due. “Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornēs ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiæ negligas. . . . amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedit veritas, largiaris.”

Such are almost all mankind, and often without perceiving it themselves. For, to hear Tully talk, he was as remote as possible from any such weakness. (k) “Nihil est in me inane,” says he to Brutus, “neque enim debet.” Nobody, (l) says he again in a letter to Cato, was ever less fond of commendation, and the vain applauses of the people, than I am. “Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus et natura, et magis etiam (ut mihi quidem sentire videor) ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego is sum.”

To comprehend the better how little and mean this vanity is, we need but open our eyes, and consider how great and noble is the opposite conduct. A few choice articles, which I shall here propose, will set the matter in a clear light.

I. To BEAR PRAISE *with PAIN*, and to SPEAK of ONE'S SELF *with MODESTY*.

This virtue, which seems to throw a veil over the most glorious actions, and is careful only to conceal them,

(i) Ep. 12. l. 5. (k) Ad Brut. ep. 3. (l) Ep. 4. l. 15. ad Famil.

them, serves to set them off the more, and give them a greater lustre.

Niger, who took the title of emperor in the East, refused the panegyric they would have spoke in his praise, and made himself the more deserving of it by his motives for refusing it. Make, says he, a panegyric upon the commanders of old, that what they have done, may teach us what we should do. For it is a jest to speak in praise of a man that is alive, and especially a prince; it is not to commend him for doing well, but to flatter him in hopes of a reward. For my own part, I should chuse to be beloved whilst I live, and praised when I am dead.

“ Those,” (m) says M. Nicole in his moral essays, “ who have heard the two greatest officers of this age (M. le Prince, and M. de Turenne) talk of the war, have always been ravished with the modesty of their discourse. No body ever observed the least word to fall from them upon this subject, which could be suspected of vanity. They have been ever seen to do justice to all the world besides, and never to themselves; and one would often imagine, when they heard them give an account of battles, in which their valour and conduct had the greatest share, either that they had not been present, or that they had been only idle spectators. Those persons, whom we see so full of the occasions wherein they have signalized themselves, as to deafen all the world with their accounts of them, as in the case of Cicero’s consulship, do thereby shew, that virtue is scarce natural to them, and that they have been obliged to take a great deal of pains to work up their souls to the condition they are so glad to appear in. But there is far more greatness in making no reflection upon our greatest actions, so that they may seem to fall from us with no constraint, and
“ spring

(m) Second traité de la charité et de l’amour propre, ch. 5.

“so naturally from the disposition of our souls,
“that it does not observe them.”

II. HEARTILY to CONTRIBUTE to the REPUTATION of OTHERS.

(n) Scipio Africanus, that he might procure his brother the command in the important war which was to be made against Antiochus the Great, engaged to serve under him, as one of his lieutenants. In this subaltern post, he was so far from endeavouring to divide the honour of the victory with his brother, that he made it both a duty and a pleasure to leave the glory of it entirely to him, and to make him his equal in every respect, by the defeat of an enemy no less formidable than Hannibal, and by the title of Asiaticus, as glorious as that of Africanus.

(o) M. Aurelius, from a like delicacy, and as generous a disregard of glory, denied himself the pleasure of attending upon his daughter Lucilla into the East, whom he married to Lucius Verus, at that time engaged in the war with Parthia, lest his presence should check the growing reputation of his son-in-law, and seem to draw upon himself the honour of putting an end to that important war, to the other's prejudice.

We know with what fidelity and submission (p) Cyrus referred all the glory of his exploits to his uncle and father-in-law Cyaxares; with what carefulness (p) Agricola, who completed the conquest of Britain, honoured his superiors with all his successes; and with what modesty he gave up part of his own reputation, to advance theirs.

(r) Plutarch gives an account of the moderation of his conduct in the discharge of the commission he was entrusted with by his own city, who had sent him as their deputy to the proconsul of the province. His colleague being obliged to stay behind by the way, he discharged

(n) Liv. l. 37. (g) Vit. M. Aurel. (p) Xenoph. in Cyrop.
(q) Tacit. in vit. Agricol. (r) Plut. in præc. reip. græc.

discharged the commission alone, and succeeded in it. At his return, when upon the point of giving a public account of his deputation, his father advised him not to speak of himself in his own name as single, but as though his colleague had been present, and they had concerted and executed the whole together. And his motive for giving him this wise advice, was, because (s) such a procedure was not only equitable and humane, but lessens the glory of the success, which usually afflicts and enflames envy.

(t) What Tully says of the perfect union which subsisted betwixt him and Hortensius, and the mutual care they took to assist one another at the bar, to communicate reciprocally what they knew, and to promote each other's credit, is a very rare example in persons of the same profession, and at the same time very worthy of imitation. (u) An historian observes, that Atticus their common friend was the band of this intimate union; and 'twas by his means that the emulation of glory, in these two famous orators, was not impaired by any mean sentiments of envy and jealousy.

(x) Lælius, the intimate friend of the second Scipio, had twice pleaded in a very important cause, and the judges had twice ordered a more ample inquiry. The parties exhorting him not to be discouraged, he persuaded them to put their affair into the hands of Galba, who was a fitter person than he to plead for them, as he spoke with more force and vehemence. In short, Galba, at a single hearing, carried all the voices, and absolutely gained his cause. Such a disinterested disposition in point of reputation, must be owned to have something very great in it. But, says Cicero, it was then customary to do justice to another's

(s) Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπεικέες τὸ τοιαῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς δόξης.

(t) Semper alter ab altero adjutus, et communicando, et monendo, et favendo. Brut n. 3.

(u) Efficiebat, ut inter quos tanta laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtestatio, essetque talium virorum copula. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attic. cap. 5.

(x) De clar. orat. n. 85—88.

ther's merit without scruple. "Erat omnino tum mos, ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo".

I have always admired the ingenuity and candour of Virgil, who was under no apprehension, by introducing Horace to Mecænas, of raising himself a rival, that might contend with him for wit and genius; and, if not entirely carry away, at least divide with him the favours and good graces of their common protector. But, says Horace, we do not live thus at Mecænas's. Never was house more removed from such mean sentiments than his, nor a purer and more noble manner of living any where practised. The merit and credit of one never gave any offence to another. Every one had his place, and was content with it.

Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hâc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suus (x).

III. To SACRIFICE *his own* REPUTATION *for the* GOOD *of the PUBLIC.*

(y) There are some occasions, in which an honest man is obliged to sacrifice his reputation, to preserve his virtue; to give up his glory for a time, that he may not part with his conscience, and march with a firm resolution where duty calls him amidst reproach and infamy, by courageously despising the contempt thrown upon him. Nothing is a greater sign of a steady adherence to virtue, than a sacrifice so generous, and at the same time so repugnant to human nature.

Plutarch

(x) Horat. sat. 9. lib. 1.

(y) Æquissimo animo ad honestum consilium per mediam infamiam tendam. Nemo mihi videtur pluri aestimare virtutem, nemo illi magis esse devotus, quam qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet. Senec. ep. 81.

Æquo animo audienda sunt imperitorum convicia, et adhonesto videnti contemnendus est iste contemptus. Id. ep. 76.

(z) Plutarch observes, that Pericles, at a time when all the citizens were crying out against him, and blaming his conduct, like an able pilot, who in a storm regards only the rules of his art for saving the ship, and overlooks the cries, lamentations and prayers of all around him; that Pericles, I say after having taken all possible precaution for the security of the state, pursued his own scheme, without troubling himself about the murmurs, complainings, threats, injurious ballads, railleries, insults, and accusations thrown out against him.

(a) 'Twas a good piece of advice the wife Fabius gave to the consul Paulus Æmilius, as he was setting out for the army. He exhorted him to despise the railleries and unjust reproaches of his colleague, to be above any reports that might be raised to his prejudice, and disregard all the pains that might be taken to disgrace or dishonour him.

Fabius himself acted in the same manner in the war against Hannibal, and saved the commonwealth. Notwithstanding the great insult he received from Minucius, he rescued him from the hands of Hannibal, (b) setting aside his resentment, and consulting only his zeal for the public good.

These examples are well known, but are scarce followed by any body in these days. Men are not attached to the state by any real ties, they often serve the public out of a view to their private interest. Upon the least disgust, they quit the service; and this disgust is often founded upon a false notion of honour, which takes offence at a very just preference. There are few who talk and think like the Lacedæmonian, that seeing himself left out of the new-erected council, said he was overjoyed to find there were three hundred better men in the city than himself.

S E C T.

(z) In vit. Pericl.

(a) Liv. lib. 22. n. 74.

(b) Habuit in consilio fortunam publicam, dolorem ultionemque seposuit. Senec. lib. 1. de ira, cap. 11.

S E C T. VII.

Wherein SOLID GLORY and REAL GREATNESS consist.

Whatever is external to a man, whatever may be common to good or bad, does not make him truly estimable. We must judge of men by the heart. From thence proceed great designs, great actions, great virtues. Solid glory, which cannot be imitated by pride, nor equalled by pomp, resides in personal qualifications and noble sentiments. To be good, liberal, beneficent, and generous; to value riches, only for the sake of distributing them; places of honour, for the service of our country; power and credit, to be in a condition to suppress vice, and reward virtue; to be really good, without seeking to appear so; to bear poverty nobly, to suffer injuries and affronts with patience, to stifle resentment, and to do every good office to an enemy when we have it in our power to be revenged of him; to prefer the public good to every thing, to sacrifice our wealth, repose, life, and fame, if necessary, to it: these make a man truly great and estimable.

Take away probity from the most shining actions, the most valuable qualities, and what are they but objects of contempt? Are the drunkenness of Alexander, the murder of his best friends, his insatiable thirst of praise and flattery, and his vanity in desiring to pass for the son of Jupiter, (e) though he did not believe it himself; are these consistent with the character of a great prince? When we see Marius, and after him Sylla, shedding torrents of Roman blood for the establishment of their own power, what regard can we pay their victories and triumphs?

On

(e) Omnes, inquit Alexander, jurant me Jovis esse filium; sed vulnus hoc hominem esse clamat. Senec. ep. 59.

On the other hand, when we hear the Emperor Titus utter that celebrated expression, (d) *My friends, I have lost a day*, because he had done good to no body; (e) and another, upon being pressed to sign a warrant for execution, saying, *I wish I could not write*; or the emperor Theodosius, after having set the prisoners at liberty on an Easter-day, *Would to God I could also open the graves, and give life to the dead*; when we see a young Scipio courageously surmounting a passion, which subdues almost all mankind; and upon another occasion giving lectures of continence and wisdom to a young prince, who had swerved from his duty; when we see a tribune of the people, a declared enemy of this Scipio's, loudly to take upon him his defence against the unjust accusers, who had conspired his destruction; (f) and lastly, when we read in history any actions of liberality, generosity, disinterestedness, clemency, or forgetfulness of injuries, is it in our power to deny them our esteem and admiration, and do we not still find ourselves affected after so many ages with the bare recital of them?

Our history supplies us with abundance of beautiful expressions and actions of our kings, and many other great men, which shews us plainly wherein true grandeur and solid glory consist.

If sincerity and truth were banished the rest of the earth, (g) said John I. king of France, when solicited to break a treaty, *they ought to be found in the heart and mouth of kings*.

It belongs not, (h) says Lewis XII. to a courtier, who pressed him to punish a person that offended him before he came to the throne, *it belongs not to the king*
of

(d) Amici, diem perdidi. Suet in vit. Titi, n. 8.

(e) Vellem nescire literas. Senec. lib. 2. de Clem.

(f) Quis est tam dissimilis homini, qui non moveatur et offensive turpitudinis, et comprobatione honestatis? . . . An obliviscamur quantopere, in audiendo legendoque moveatur, cum pie, cum amice, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoscimus, Lib. 5. de fin. n. 62.

(g) Mezerai.

(h) Ibid.

of France to revenge the injuries done to the Duke of Orleans.

(i) Francis I. after the battle of Pavia, wrote a letter to the regent his mother in these few words, *Madam, all is lost but our honour*. This was to think and write like a king indeed, who, in comparison of his honour, makes light of every thing beside.

(k) And when shameful conditions were demanded of him for his liberty, he ordered the emperor's agent to let his master know, that he was resolved rather to spend all his days in prison, than dismember his dominions; and to add that though he should be so base as to do it, he was sure his subjects would never consent to it.

(l) Instead of bearing ill-will to Francis de Montelon, who was the only lawyer of his time, that ventured to plead in favour of Charles de Bourbon against Francis I. and Louisa of Savoy his mother, he valued him the more for it, made him attorney-general, then president au Mortier, and at last keeper of the seals.

(m) As Henry IV. was reproached with the little power he had in Rochelle *I do*, says he, *in that town whatever I please, by doing only what I ought*.

Our magistrates, upon several occasions, have given proof of what (n) Tully has in his offices, that there is a domestic and private courage, of no less value than military valour. (o) Achilles de Harlai, premier-president, being threatened by the seditious with an immediate capital punishment, (these are the author's term's) *I have neither head, nor life*, says he, *which I prefer to the love of God, the service of my king, and the good of my country*. On the day of the barricade, he gave no other answer to the insults and menaces of the principal authors of the league, than these commendable words; *My soul is God's, my heart the king's, and my body in the hands*

(i) P. Daniel.

(k) Ibid.

(l) Ste Marthe, liv. 5. de ses eloges.

(m) Hist. d'Aubigné.

(n) Sunt domesticæ fortitudinis, non inferiores militaribus. Offic. 1. n. 18.

(o) Histoire des prem. pref.

hands of violent men, to do with it what they please.

(p) when Buffy le Clerc had the boldness to enter the grand-chamber, and read the list of those he said he had orders to arrest, and named the premier-president and ten or twelve more, all the rest of the company rose up, and generously followed them to the Bastile.

'Tis well known, that the premier-president Molé, in a popular insurrection, without any dread of losing his life, went and shewed himself to the populace, and put a stop to the mutiny by his single presence.

'Tis of him that Cardinal de Retz writes thus in his memoirs: " If it were not a kind of blasphemy " to say there is one in our age more intrepid than " the great Gustavus, and M. le Prince, I would " say it was the premier-president Molé."

This resolution is the less astonishing in the magistrates of a parliament, whose peculiar character is an inviolable fidelity to their kings, and an invincible courage in the greatest dangers. But can we sufficiently admire the extraordinary generosity, which inspired the townsmen of Calais with love to their country, and view to the public good? The town reduced by famine to the last extremity, offered to capitulate. The king of England, (q) provoked at their holding out so long, refused them quarter, except upon this sole condition, " That six of " the principal townsmen, with their heads uncovered, their feet bare, and halters about their necks, " should bring him the keys of the town and castle " in their hands; that upon these he would execute " his pleasure, and receive the rest to mercy." When they had assembled the town, one of the chiefest townsmen, named Eustace de St. Pierre, began to speak; and he spoke with a courage and resolution, which would have done honour to the ancient Roman citizens in the days of the republic; he said that he offered himself to be the first victim for the safety

of

(p) Mezerai.

(q) P. Daniel.

of the rest of the people, and that rather than see his fellow country-men perish by hunger and the sword, he would be one of the six that should be given up to the king of England's vengeance. Five others, encouraged by his discourse and example, offered themselves with him. They were conducted in the equipage prescribed, amidst the confused cries and lamentations of the people. The King of England was inclined to execute them; but the Queen touched with compassion, and breaking out into tears, threw herself at his Majesty's feet, and obtained their pardon.

When the great Conde commanded the Spanish army in Flanders, and laid siege to one of our towns, a soldier being ill treated by a general officer, and struck several times with a cane for some disrespectful words he had let fall, answered very coolly, that he should soon make him repent of it. Fifteen days after, the same general officer ordered the colonel of the trenches to find him out a bold and intrepid fellow in his regiment for a notable piece of work he wanted to be done, for which he promised a reward of an hundred pistoles. The soldier we are speaking of, who passed for the bravest of the regiment, offered his service, and taking with him thirty of his comrades, of whom the choice was left to himself, he discharged his commission, (r) which was a very hazardous one, with incredible courage and success. Upon his return, the general officer highly commended him, and gave him the hundred pistoles he had promised. The soldier presently distributed them among his comrades, saying, he did not serve for pay, and demanded only, that if his late action seemed to deserve any recompence, they would make him an officer. *And now, Sir,* adds he to the general officer, who did not know him,

(r) The business was to know, before they made a lodgment, whether the enemy were undermining the glacis. The soldier as soon as it was night, throwing himself into the covered way, discharged his commission so well, that he brought off the hat and instruments of one of the miners whom he had killed in the mine.

him, *I am the soldier you so much abused fifteen days ago, and I told you I would make you repent it.* The general officer, in great admiration, and melting into tears, threw his arms around his neck, begged his pardon, and gave him a commission that very day. The great Conde took a pleasure in telling this story, as the bravest action in a soldier he had ever heard of. I had it from a person to whom M. le Prince, the great Conde's son, has often told it.

The same cannon ball that killed M. Turenne, carried off an arm from M. St. Hillaire, lieutenant-general of the artillery. His son breaking out into tears and lamentations, *Hold your tongue, child,* says he to him, and pointing to M. de Turenne, as he lay dead, *there's a proper subject for your tears.*

(s) I have already spoke of the famous Henry de Mesmes, one of the most illustrious magistrates of his time. The king (Henry II. if I am not mistaken) having offered him the place of advocate-general, he took the liberty to represent to his majesty, that the place was not vacant. It is, answered the King, because I am dissatisfied with the person that fills it. *Excuse me Sir,* answered Henry de Mesmes, after having modestly spoke in defence of the person accused, *I had rather tear up the ground with my nails, than enter into that post through such a gate.* The King gave ear to his remonstrance, and continued the advocate-general in his place; who coming the next day to thank him for the services he had done him, Henry de Mesmes would scarce accept of his acknowledgments for doing what he said was an indispensable duty, and which he could not have omitted, without disgracing himself for ever.

A president à Mortimer (t) had thoughts of quitting his post in hopes of procuring it for his son. Lewis XIV. who had promised M. Peletier, then comptroller-general, to give him the first that fell, offered him

(s) Memoires Manuscrits, quoted already in the first volume.

(t) Cl. Peleterii vita.

him this. M. Peletier, after making his most humble acknowledgments, added, that the president who had quitted, had a son, and his Majesty had ever been well satisfied with the family. "I am not used to be answered thus," replies the King, in a surprise at his conduct and generosity; "well, you shall have the next then." Nor did he wait long for it; for within two years after, M. le president le Cogneux dying without a son, so noble a disinterestedness was rewarded.

And here I must ask, when we read of such actions, can we possibly resist the impression they make upon our hearts? It is the voice and (s) testimony of an upright, staunch, and pure nature, not yet corrupted by ill examples and bad principles, which should be the rule of our judgments, and is in a manner the basis of this taste of solid glory and real greatness, I am now speaking of. And 'tis our business to attend solely to this voice, consult it in all things, and conform to its dictates.

I know very well, that something else is requisite, besides precepts and examples, to make a man thus superior to the strongest passions, and that God alone can inspire him with these sentiments of nobleness and grandeur, as the heathens themselves inform us. (t) "Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est. An potest aliquis supra fortunam, nisi ab illo adjutus, exsurgere? Ille dat consilia magnifica et erecta." (u) But we cannot too much inculcate these principles into youth; and it were to be wished, they could never hear any other discourse, and that these precepts were continually sounded in their ears. (x)

The

(s) Quæ disciplina eò pertinebat, ut sincera et integra, et nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscujusque natura, toto statim pectore arripere artes honestas. Dialog. de oratoribus, cap. 28.

(t) Senec. ep. 41.

(u) Conducere arbitror talibus aures tuas vocibus undique circumsonate, nec eas, si fieri posset, quidquam aliud audire. Cic. lib. 3. offic. n. 5.

(x) Omnium honestarum rerum semina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur: non aliter quam scientilla statu levi adjuta, ignem suum explicat. Senec. ep. 94.

Hæc est sapientia, in naturam converti, et eo restitui, unde publicus error expulerit. Ibid.

principal fruit of history is to preserve and invigorate those sentiments of probity and integrity we bring into the world with us; or, if we have swerved from them, to draw us back by degrees, and rekindle in us those precious sparks, by frequent examples of virtue. (x) A master well skilled in directing the genius, which is the principal province, will omit no opportunity of instilling into his scholars the principles of honour and equity, and of exciting in them a sincere love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. (y) As they are of an age as yet tender and tractable, and corruption has not taken deep root in them, the truth more easily finds entrance into their minds, and fixes itself there without difficulty, if ever so little assisted by the master's wise reflections, and seasonable counsels.

When upon every point of history read to them, or at least upon the brightest and most important, they are asked what they think, what seems beautiful, great, and commendable, and, on the contrary, what blameable and contemptible, it seldom happens but youth answer justly and rationally, and pass a sound and equitable judgment upon whatever is proposed to them. 'Tis this answer, this judgment, which, as I have already said, is in them the voice of nature and right reason, and cannot be suspected because not suggested, that becomes in them the rule of a good taste with respect to solid glory and true greatness. When they see a Regulus exposing himself to the most cruel torments, rather than break his word; a Cyrus and a Scipio making a public profession of continence and wisdom; all the ancient Romans, so illustrious and so generally esteemed, leading a poor, frugal, and sober life; and, on the other hand, see actions of treachery, debauchery, dissoluteness, low and

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E

sordid

(x) Civitatis rectorem decet. . . . verbis, et his mollioribus, curare ingenia, ut facienda suadeat, cupiditatemque honesti et æqui conciliet animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum. Sen. lib. 1. de ira. cap. 5.

(y) Facillime tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honesti restitue amorem. Adhuc docilibus, leviterque corruptis, injicit manus veritas, si ad vocatum idoneum nacta est. Senec. ep. 108.

fordid avarice, in great and considerable persons, they hesitate not a moment to pronounce in favour of the side they ought.

[z] Seneca, speaking of one of his masters, says, that when he heard him discourse of the advantages of poverty, chastity, sobriety, and a conscience pure and unblameable, he went away from his lectures, enamoured of virtue, and filled with horror for vice. And this is the effect history must produce, when well taught.

We must therefore be careful to make youth attentive to the excellent lessons even paganism affords, [a] which sets no value upon whatever is external and adventitious, such as wealth, honours, and magnificence; [b] and even in man, esteems and admires only the qualities of the heart, that is to say, probity and virtue; [c] which are of so glorious a nature, that they honour, dignify, and exalt whatever approaches, or surrounds them, even poverty, misery, exile, imprisonment, and torture. 'Tis virtue alone which fixes the price of every thing, and is the sole source of solid glory and real greatness. According to the principles of paganism, [d] a prince is only so far great, as he is beneficent and liberal: nor should he think of his power,

[z] Ego certe, cum Attalum audirem, in vitia, in errores, in mala vitæ perorantem, sæpe misertus sum generis humani. Cum vero commendare paupertatem cœperat . . . sæpe exire é schola pauperi libuit. Cum cœperat voluptates nostras traducere, laudare castum corpus, sobriam mensam, puram mentem, non tantum ab illicitis voluptatibus, sed etiam supervacuis, libebat circumscribere gulam et vintrem. Senec. ep. 108.

[a] Quicquid est hoc quod circa nos ex adventitio fulget, honores, opes, ampla atria . . . alieni commodatique apparatus sunt. Senec. consol. ad Marc. cap. 10.

[b] Nec quicquam suum, nisi se, puet esse, ea quoque parte qua melior est. Id. de Const. sap. cap. 6.

[c] Quicquid attingit virtus in similitudinem sui adducit et tingit: actiones, amicitias, interdum domos totas, quas intravit disposuitque, condecorat: quicquid tractavit, id amabile, conspicuum, mirabile facit. Id. ep. 60.

[d] Proximum diis locum tenet, qui se ex deorum natura gerit, beneficus, ac largus, et in melius potens. Hæc affectare, hæc imitari decet: maximum ita haberi, ut optimus simul habeatur. Senec. lib. 1. de clem. cap. 19.

power, but with a view to do good, and, in imitation of the gods, to place the title of *best* before that of *greatest*; JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS. He should prefer the tender name of [e] father of his country, to all the pompous titles of the invincible, the triumpher, the thunderbolt of war, the conqueror, titles generally so fatal to mankind, and call to mind that he is the protector and father of his subjects, and that his most solid glory, as well as his most essential duty, is to do his utmost to make them happy.

One would think nothing could be added to these noble ideas which the pagans give us of human power and greatness, or to the examples of virtue, which I have quoted above in such great abundance. But let us hear what a wise man says, who was brought up, not in the school of Plato or Socrates, but of Jesus Christ, I mean St. Augustin, who, after having drawn the character of a great prince, teaches us, by one circumstance that he adds to the descriptions of the ancients, wherein solid glory consists, and how far Christianity surmounts the pagan virtues, of which pride and vanity were the soul and principle.

“ We do not call Christian princes great and happy,
 “ (f) (says this father, speaking of the emperors), for
 “ having reigned long, or for dying in peace, and
 “ leaving their children behind them on the throne;
 “ for having conquered the enemies of the state, or
 “ suppressed sedition; advantages which are common
 “ to them with such princes as are worshippers of de-
 “ vils: But we call them great and happy, when they
 “ make justice to flourish, and, amidst the praises that
 “ are given them, and the homage paid them, do not
 “ grow proud, but remember they are men; when
 “ they submit their power to the sovereign power of
 “ the King of kings, and make it subservient only to

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“ the

(e) Cætera cognomina honori data sunt. . . . Patrem quidem patriæ appellamus, ut sciret datam sibi potestatem patriam, quæ est temperatissima, liberis consulens, suæque post illos reponens. Senec. lib. 1. de clem. cap. 14.

(f) S. Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 24.

“ the advancement of true religion; when they fear
 “ God, love him and worship him; when they value
 “ not their kingdom in comparison of him, with
 “ whom they have no rivals nor enemies to apprehend;
 “ when they are slow to punish, and swift to pardon;
 “ when they punish only for the good of the state, and
 “ not the gratification of their personal revenge, and
 “ pardon only from the hope of amendment, and not
 “ to grant impunity to crimes; when, being obliged
 “ to use severity, they temper it with some action of
 “ mildness and clemency; when they are the more re-
 “ served in their pleasures, from being the more at
 “ liberty to indulge themselves in them; when they
 “ rather chuse to command their passions, than to go-
 “ vern all the nations of the world; AND WHEN THEY
 “ DO ALL THESE THINGS, NOT FROM VAIN GLO-
 “ RY, BUT THE LOVE OF ETERNAL HAPPINESS.”

It was not in the power of paganism to inspire such noble sentiments, and, at the same time, so pure from all self-love and vain-glory. “*Hæc omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, sed propter caritatem felicitatis æternæ.*” Nothing but the school of Christ was capable of raising man to so high a degree of perfection, as to make him absolutely forget himself in the midst of the greatest actions, that he might refer them only to God, wherein his entire greatness and glory consists. For whilst a man centers every thing in himself, let him make what efforts he will to appear great, and exalt himself, he continues still what he is, that is, meanness and nothing, and can only become great and exalted, by uniting himself to him, who is the sole source of all glory and greatness.

Hence arose that innumerable multitude of Christian heroes of every condition, sex, and age. The greatest, the most distinguished by the fortunes of the world, have come to lay down at the foot of the cross, riches, grandeur, magnificence, dignities, science, eloquence, and fame, and counted all these sacrifices as nothing. S. Paulinus, the honour of

France,

France, and glory of his age, whilst all the world stood in admiration at his generosity in distributing the immense riches he possessed in several provinces among the poor, thought he had yet done nothing, and compared himself to a wrestler preparing to engage, or a man that was ready to swim over a river, who had neither of them made any great progress, though they had stript off their clothes.

What shall I say of the multitude of illustrious ladies, who were some of them descended from the Scipio's and the Gracchi, S. Paula, S. Olympias, S. Marcella, S. Melania, who, in honour of the gospel, trode under foot the pomps and vanities of the world? What greatness of soul is there in that saying of Marcella's, when, after she had distributed all her goods to the poor, seeing Rome taken and pillaged by the Goths, she thanked God she had secured her wealth before, and that the loss of the city had found her poor, and not made her so! (g) "*Quod pauperem illam non feceisset captivitas, sed invenisset.*"

No triumph ever equalled that which Christian humility gained in the person of S. Melania the grandmother, when she went to Nola, to visit S. Paulinus. We have an eloquent description of it given us by the saint himself. All her family, that is, the greatest and most eminent persons in Rome waited upon her, and resolved by way of honour to attend her in this journey with all the usual pomp belonging to persons of their quality. The Appian way was covered over with gilt and splendid coaches, with horses richly harnessed, and chariots of all kinds in abundance. In the midst of this pompous train, marched a lady venerable for her age, and still more so for her grave and modest deportment, mounted on a little lean horse, and cloathed in a garment of plain serge. All eyes, however, were turned and fixed upon the humble Melania. No

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(g) S. Hieron. lib. 3. ep. ad Principiam.

body took any notice of the gold, the silk, and purple, which glittered around her; the coarse stuff extinguished all that vain splendor. There was seen in the children, what the mother had quitted and trampled under foot, as a sacrifice to Jesus Christ.

The great lords and ladies, who made up this pompous retinue, instead of being ashamed of the vile and abject condition the holy widow appeared in, thought it an honour to draw near her, and touch her garments, thinking by this humble and respectful condescension to expiate the pride of their own riches and magnificence. Thus, upon this occasion, the pomp of the Roman greatness paid homage to the poverty of the gospel.

Some such passages as these, intermixed from time to time with select portions of profane history, may serve to correct and amend whatever is amiss in them, supply what is wanting on the part of motive and intention, and give youth a perfect idea of true and solid greatness. For, in laying before them the beautiful actions and laudable sentiments of the pagans, as we have done here, we must be careful, from time to time, to remind them of the principle (h) S. Augustin so frequently repeats, that without true piety, that is, without knowledge and love of the true God, there can be no real virtue; that it ceases to be such, when produced by no other motive than human glory. It is true, adds he, these virtues, though false and imperfect, do, however, enable those who have them, to be much more serviceable to the public, than if they had them not. And it is in this sense we may say, that it were sometimes to be wished, that those who govern, were good pagans, good Romans, and acted according to the great principles, which were the
soul

(h) Dum illud constat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine vera pietate, id est, veri Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem, nec eam veram esse, quando gloriæ servit humanæ. S. Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 19.

soul of their conduct. (i) But the state is then absolutely happy, when it pleases God to advance such to an high station, as unite true and solid piety with the great qualities which we admire in the ancients.

PART THE SECOND.

Of SACRED HISTORY.

I SHALL reduce what I have to say upon the study of sacred history, to two heads.

First, I shall lay down the principles I think necessary for making a proper advantage of this study; and then I shall make the application of them to some examples.

CHAP. I.

NECESSARY PRINCIPLES *for the* UNDERSTANDING *of* SACRED HISTORY.

BEFORE I set down the observations necessary to be made in the studying of sacred history, or teaching it to others, I think it proper to begin with giving a general idea of it, which may explain the character peculiar to it, and assist us in shewing wherein this history differs from all others.

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ARTICLE

(i) Illi autem, qui vera pietate præditi bene vivunt, si habent scientiam regendi populos, nihil est felicius rebus humanis, quam si Deo miserante habeant potestatem. Ibid.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

The PROPER and PECULIAR CHARACTERS of SACRED HISTORY.

SAURED history is very different from all other history whatsoever. The last contains only human facts and temporal events, and often full of uncertainty and contradiction. But the other is the history of God himself, the supreme Being; the history of his omnipotence, his infinite wisdom, his universal providence, his holiness, his justice, his mercy, and all his other attributes, set forth under a thousand forms, and displayed by abundance of wonderful effects. The book which contains all these wonders is the most ancient book in the world, and the only one, before the coming of the Messiah, in which God has shewn us, in a clear and certain manner, what he is, what we are, and for what ends designed.

Other histories leave us deeply ignorant in all these important points. Instead of giving a clear and distinct idea of the Godhead, they render it obscure, dishonour and disfigure it by numberless extravagant fables, differing only from one another in a greater or less degree of absurdity. They give us no insight into the nature of the world we inhabit, whether it had a beginning, by whom, or to what end it was created; how it is supported and preserved, or whether it is always to subsist: we learn nothing what we are ourselves, what our original, nature, design, or end.

Sacred history begins with clearly revealing to us in a few words, the greatest and most important truths: 'That there is a God, pre-existing before all things, and consequently eternal; that the world is the work of his hands, that he made it out of nothing by his word alone, and that thus he is almighty. (u) *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

It

(u) Gen. i. 1.

It then represents man, for whom this world was made, as coming forth from the hands of his Creator, and compounded of a body and soul; a body made out of a little dust, the proof of its weakness; and a soul, breathed into it by God, and consequently distinct from the body, spiritual, intelligent, and from the very substance of its nature and constitution, incorruptible and immortal.

It describes the happy condition in which man was created, righteous and innocent, and destined for eternal happiness, if he had persevered in his righteousness and innocence; his sad fall by sin, the fatal source of all his misfortunes, and the twofold death to which he was condemned with all his posterity; and lastly, his future restoration by an all-powerful Mediator, which was even then promised and pointed out to him for his consolation, though at the distance of a remote futurity, all the circumstances and characters whereof are afterwards described, but under the faint shadows of figures and symbols, which, like so many veils, serve at the same time to disclose and hide it.

It teaches us, that in this restoration of mankind, the great work of God, to which all is referred, and in which all terminates, is to form to himself a kingdom worthy of him, a kingdom which shall alone subsist to all eternity, and to which all others shall give place; that Jesus Christ shall be the founder and ruler of this kingdom, according to the august prophecy of (b) Daniel, who after he had seen in a vision under different symbols the succession and ruin of all the great empires of the world, sees at last the Son of Man drawing near to the Ancient of Days, ‘*usque ad Antiquum Dierum*,’ a noble and sublime expression to denote the Eternal; and immediately adds, *that God gave him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all nations and languages should serve him, his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.*

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(a) Dan. vii, 1, — 14.

This kingdom is the church, which is begun and formed here upon earth, and shall one day be carried up into heaven, the place of its original and eternal habitation. (c) *And then cometh the end*, that is of this visible world which subsists only for the other, *when Jesus Christ, after having put down all rule, and all authority and power, shall have delivered up the kingdom*, that is to say, the blessed and holy company of the elect, *to God, even the Father.*

It is this blessed society of the just, and he who has been pleased to be their head, sanctifier, father, and spouse, who are the grand object, and the last end of all the designs of God. From the beginning of the world, and even before sin had perverted the order of it, he had them both in view. (d) St. Paul declares in express terms, that the first Adam was the figure of the second, “*qui est forma futuri* ;” and (e) he insinuates to us, that Eve, who was taken from Adam’s side during his mysterious sleep, was a natural image of the church, proceeding from the side of Christ, who slept upon the cross to make us the children of it.

We see God, who is always watchful over the work of his own hands, from the earliest times, preparing at a distance the formation of the Christian church, and laying the foundations of it, by revealing to man such mysteries as it was always necessary to his salvation for man to know, by frequently renewing to him the promise of a Redeemer ; by pointing out to him the necessity of believing in a Mediator, for the obtaining of true righteousness ; by teaching him the essence of religion, and the spirit of true worship ; by transmitting from age to age, without alteration, these capital doctrines, by the long life of the first patriarchs, who were full of faith and holiness ; by taking care, through the means of the ark, to preserve these essential truths from perishing in the deluge ; and lastly, by forming from the beginning a society
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(e) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

(d) Rom. v. 14.

(c) Eph. v. 25, &c.

of just men more or less numerous and visible, and preserving them by an uninterrupted succession.

But when the earth began again to be overspread with an inundation of errors and crimes, of a more pernicious consequence than the deluge of waters they had lately escaped from; God to secure the salutary truths, which began to grow obscure and extinct in all nations, committed them in trust to a family entirely devoted to religion. Of them he forms a peculiar people, inclining them within the precincts of a particular country which he had before prepared for them, separated from all other nations, by distinct laws and customs, directed and governed in a manner entirely singular. exposed as a spectacle to the rest of the world by the innumerable wonders he wrought amongst them, either with a view to fix them in the promised land, to keep them in possession of it, or bring them back to it when driven out. He was not content to guide them like other people, by a general and common providence, but himself became their Head, Legislator, and King. And it was his will, that this people should be the type and figure of what was afterwards to happen to the Church, by their departure out of Egypt, their wandering in the desert, their entrance into the land of promise, their wars and conquests, their long captivity in Babylon, their return into their own country; in a word, by all the different states and changes which befel them; and that the expectation of the Messiah, promised to the patriarchs, figured by the ceremonies and sacrifices of the law, foretold by the prophets, should be the proper and especial character of this people, to distinguish them from all other nations of the earth.

This is what the scripture teaches us, and alone could discover to us, as it alone is the depository of the divine revelations, and of the manifestation of God's decrees, which lay concealed in his bosom from all eternity, till the moment he was pleased to divulge them. And can any object be greater, of nearer

concern, and more worthy of the attention of mankind, than an history, wherein God has thought fit of himself to draw with his own hand the plan of our eternal destiny?

To fix the certainty of revelation, and establish religion upon a firm foundation, it has pleased God to give it two sorts of proof, which were at the same time suited to the capacities of the most simple and superior to all the subtleties of the incredulous; which visibly bore the character of Omnipotence; and which neither all the wavers of man, or cunning of devils, were able to imitate.

These two sorts of proof consist in miracles and prophecies.

The miracles are plain, public, notorious, exposed to the eyes of all the world, infinitely multiplied and diversified, long foretold and expected, and continuing for a long series of days, and sometimes of years. They are evident facts, memorable events, of which the dullest understanding could not but be sensible, whereof the whole people were not only spectators and witnesses, but themselves the matter and object; they reap the advantages of them, and perceive the effects, and have their own happiness or misery depending on them. The family of Noah could not forget the destruction of the whole world by the deluge, after the continued menaces of an age; nor the miraculous manner, in which they alone were preserved in the ark. The fire which came down from heaven upon the unrighteous cities; the whole kingdom of Egypt punished at several times by ten terrible plagues; the sea opening a passage to the Israelites, and closing to overwhelm Pharoah and his army; the people of Israel fed with manna for forty years, and drinking of the brooks which flowed out of the stony rocks, covered with a cloud from the heat of the day, and enlightened by night with a pillar of fire; their cloathes and their shoes not worn out in the course of so long a journey; the streams of Jordan forgetting to flow, and the sun stand-

standing still to secure the victory; an army of hornets marching before the people of God to drive the Canaanites from their possessions; the clouds at several times converted into a shower of hail-stones to overthrow the enemy; the nations in league against Israel dispersed by a vain terror, or exterminated by a mutual slaughter in turning their arms against one another; an hundred four score and five thousand struck dead with thunder in one night under the walls of Jerusalem; all these prodigies and a thousand others of like nature, whereof several were attested by solemn feasts established on purpose to perpetuate their memory, and by sacred songs which were in the mouths of all the Israelites, could not be unknown to the most stupid, nor called in question by the most incredulous.

And the same may be said of the prophecies. We are struck with astonishment and consider as the utmost effort of human understanding, that a famous (d) historian should have been able by force of his genius, a superior capacity, and his profound knowledge of the characters of men and nations, to pry so far into the darkness of futurity, as to discern a considerable alteration, which was to happen in the Roman commonwealth. And certainly such a foresight very much deserves our admiration; and there is nobody, that has ever such taste and curiosity, who is not well pleased to examine, whether the historian has really conjectured so exactly as is reported.

The sacred history presents us with far greater wonders. We there see a multitude of inspired men, who do not speak doubtfully, with hesitation, or by conjecture, but with an affirmative voice loudly and publicly declare, that such and such events should certainly happen in the time and place, and with all the circumstances that these prophets express. But what events? The most particular, the most personal, and such as most nearly concerned the interest of the nation, and at the same time were the most

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[d] Polybius.

remote from all outward appearance. Under the flourishing reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, when the state enjoyed peace and plenty, and luxury in eating, building, and furniture was carried to excess, what likelihood was there of the terrible famine, and shameful captivity [e] Isaiah then threatened the ladies of the greatest distinction with, or what probability of the extreme misery which actually befel them in the following reign?

When, some time after, Jerusalem, blocked up by the numerous army of Sennacherib, was reduced to the last extremity, without troops, without provisions, or any hope of human assistance, especially after the army of the Egyptians had been cut to pieces, was the prediction of Isaiah credible, that the city should not be taken, that it should not be besieged in form, that the enemy should not cast an arrow against it, and that this formidable army should be exterminated at once, without any human concurrence, and its king put to flight?

The entire destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes; the carrying Judah away captive to Babylon after the conquest and overthrow of Jerusalem; the express term of seventy years set for the duration of their captivity; their glorious return into their own country; their deliverer specified and called by his proper name above two hundred years before he was born; the surprising and till then unheard of manner, in which this famous conqueror was to take Babylon; could all this be the effect of human foresight, or was there the least appearance of it, when the prophets foretold it?

These predictions however, illustrious as they were, served only as a veil or preparation to others of far greater importance, to which the accomplishment of the former was to give a degree of authority and credit, superior in strength to all that human understanding could imagine or desire for the gaining of
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[c] *Isai*, iii. 16, 26, &c.

a full conviction and an unchangeable belief. It is plain, I mean the predictions relating to the Messiah, and the establishment of the Christian Church. These are so clear and circumstantial, that they surpass all imagination. The prophets have not only specified the time, the place, and the manner of the Messiah's birth, the principal actions of his life, and the effects of his preaching; but they saw, and foretold the most particular circumstances of his death and resurrection, and have related them with almost as much exactness as the evangelists themselves, who were eye-witnesses of them.

But what shall we say of those great events, which constitute the fate of mankind, take in the extent of all ages, and at last happily lose themselves in the eternity, which was their end and design; the establishment of the Church upon earth by the preaching of the twelve fishermen; the reprobation of the whole body of the Jewish nation; the vocation of the Gentiles, to be substituted in the place of a people once so dearly beloved, and favoured with such high privileges; the destruction of idolatry through the world; the dispersion of the Jews into all parts of the earth, to serve as witnesses to the truth of Christ, which will be the refuge and consolation of the Church in the latter days; and lastly, the translation of this Church, after many trials and dangers, from earth to heaven, there to enjoy eternal peace and felicity? These are the subjects with which the prophets entertain us, and for this end the Holy Scriptures were written.

Now I ask in the first place, whether we shall not be wanting in the most essential part of the education of youth, if we suffer them to be ignorant of an history so venerable and important for its antiquity, its authority, and the greatness and variety of facts related in it, and more especially for the intimate union it has with our holy religion, as it is the foundation of it, as it contains all the proofs of it,

it, points out to us all its duties, and for which it is so capable of inspiring us with the greatest respect from our most tender years, which may afterwards serve as a check and barrier against the licentious boldness of incredulity, which every day gains ground, and threatens us with the entire loss of the faith?

I ask, in the second place, whether it be to study and teach sacred history as we ought, barely to consider the facts contained in it as historical facts, or to lay them before youth as objects only of their curiosity and admiration, without shewing them as the firmest supports of their belief, the legal patent of their true nobility, and certain pledges of their future greatness; without teaching them to compare these *miraculous* and *prophetical* events with the most boasted *prodigies* and *oracles* of the heathen; and without making them sensible how vain those, upon which the whole Roman religion, for instance, was founded, and which [f] Tully in some of his books has endeavoured to support with all his eloquence, (though in [g] others he absolutely overthrows them) how vain and frivolous, I say, these prodigies and oracles are, and how far remote, supposing they were true, from the certainty, majesty, and number of those, which the sacred history presents us with in every page?

Lastly, I ask, whether we should pay to the sacred history, dictated by the Holy Ghost himself, the respect which is due to it, by examining only the letter of it, without penetrating farther, to discover the spirit and true signification of it; especially after such light as the evangelists and apostles, and since them, the constant and uninterrupted tradition of the fathers, have given us upon this matter? We very often read in the Gospel, that the actions related there, were the accomplishment of the figures and prophecies of the Old Testament; and Jesus
Christ

[f] Lib. 1. de Nat. Deor.

[g] Lib. 2. de Divinat.

Christ himself assures us, that Moses has principally written of him; [h] *Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.* [i] St. Paul tells us in clear and exprefs terms, that Jesus Christ was the end of the law, and that what happened to the Jews, happened to them by way of type and figure. St. Auguftin, who is herein no other than the interpreter and channel of the tradition of the church, declares to us, fpeaking of the Saints of the Old testament, that not only their words, but their life, their marriages, their children, their actions, where a figure and prediction of what was long after to happen in the Christian church; [k] ‘*Horum fanctorum, qui præcefferunt tempore nativitatem Domini, non folum fermo, fed etiam vita, et conjugia, et filii, et facta, prophetia fuit hujus temporis, quo per fidem passionis Christi ex gentibus congregatur ecclefia;*’ and that the whole Hebrew nation were a kind of great prophet of him, who alone deferves to be called great; (l) ‘*Totumque illud regnum gentis Hebræorum, magnum quendam, quia et magni cujusdem fuiſſe prophetam.*’ Whence he concludes that a prophecy of Christ and the church ſhould be fought for in the actions of the people: ‘*In iis quæ in illis, vel de illis divinitus fiebant, prophetia venturi Christi et ecclefie perſcrutanda eſt.*’

In what is ſaid, for inſtance, of Abraham, [m] that he caſt out Hagar, who was his lawful wife, though a bond-woman of a ſecond rank, with Iſhmael his ſon, without giving them any thing for their ſubſiſtence but a little bread and water; can any man of good ſenſe or underſtanding comprehend that this patriarch, who was ſo liberal and humane to ſtrangers, would have treated his wife and ſon with ſuch ſeverity, if there was not ſome myſtery concealed under it?

Though

[h] John. v. 46.

[i] Rom. x. 4. 1 Cor. x. 11.

[k] S. Au. de catechiſ. rud. c. 19.

[l] Lib. 22. contra Fauſt. cap. 24.

[m] Gen. xxii.

Though tradition did not discover to us the meaning of the same patriarch's action in offering up Isaac would not reason alone, I mean in a man enlightened with faith, suffice to make us discern in it the charity of our heavenly Father, who had so great a love for mankind, as to give his only son for them ?

Can we tell the children the history of the brazen serpent fixed and hung upon a cross in the wilderness, as a remedy for the Israelites who had been bitten by the fiery serpents, without explaining to them at the same time, of whom this serpent was the type ?

Should we rightly understand the admirable history of Jonas, if we limited it only to the letter, and did not discern the resurrection of Christ restored to life again from the dead on the third day, and the speedy and miraculous conversion of the Gentiles, which was the fruit of our Saviour's death and resurrection ?

And the same may be observed in many other passages in sacred history, which are not understood, if not fully comprehended. We should study it as Jews, and not as Christians, if we did not remove the veil that covers it, and were content with the surface, which, though rich indeed and valuable, conceals other riches of a far more inestimable value.

These types or figures should be explained to youth more or less fully in proportion to their years, taking care to dwell especially upon such as are explained in the New Testament, the meaning of which cannot possibly be taken ; however, a choice should be made of the clearest of those, and such as are best suited to the age of the pupil. There are some however so plain and evident in themselves, though not explained in the New Testament, that we cannot possibly doubt their signification, as the history of Joseph, and several others of the like nature.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

USEFUL OBSERVATIONS *for the* STUDY of SACRED HISTORY.

THE first care to be taken in the study of history in general, is to throw it into such order and method as to be able clearly to distinguish facts, persons, times and places ; and to this end chronology and geography may contribute, which have been deservedly called the two eyes of history, as they give a great addition of light to it, and remove all kind of confusion.

When I recommend the study of chronology, I am far from inclining to engage youth in the examination of those difficult and knotty questions, of which it is very susceptible, and of which the discussion properly belongs only to the learned. It is sufficient if they have a clear and distinct idea, not of the precise year of every particular fact, for that would be endless and extremely troublesome, but, in general, of the age wherein the most considerable events fell out.

Sacred history, from the creation of the world to the birth of Jesus Christ, is usually divided into six ages or parts, which in all take the space of four thousand years. This division is not difficult to be retained, nor above the comprehension of children. The number of years in each of these ages is next to be observed, avoiding as much as possible the fractions or small numbers, and reducing them to a round sum. Thus the fourth age, which reaches from the departure out of Egypt to the time when the foundations of the temple were laid, exactly computed, includes but four hundred and seventy nine years and seventeen days. But 'tis better to tell youth, that it amounts to above four hundred and eighty years. This space may be again divided into different parts, but we must not multiply them too much ;

much ; into forty years, which the people passed in the wilderness under the conduct of Moses ; three hundred and fifty from their entrance into the Holy Land under the direction of Joshua and the Judges ; forty years under Saul, forty more under David, and some years of the reign of Solomon. Such a division is not very burthensome to the memory, and, in my opinion, makes the knowledge of facts much more clear and easy.

Among the writers of chronology, Usher and Petavius are the most followed. Either the one or the other of these great men may be chosen for a guide ; but in the same college, it will be proper to keep to one and the same in every class.

As there is some facts in sacred history differently related by the several authors who have treated of them, it is the master's business to unite and reconcile these differences, by chusing out of each book such circumstances as are most instructive and affecting. When they come to the times of the prophets, their writings give a great light to the historical books, that omit several considerable facts, or often but slightly touch upon them ; of which we shall give some examples in the sequel.

There has been lately published a book, entitled, *An abridgment of the history of the Old Testament*, which may be very useful not only to youth, but to all persons, who have not leisure or capacity enough for studying the sacred history in the scripture itself. Whatever is most essential in sacred history is thrown into this abridgment. That simplicity of style is diligently observed, which is so peculiar to it. In the historical relations, care is also taken to intermix such words of scripture, which convey great sense, and suggest matter for important reflections. Lastly, to render this work more complete and useful, it concludes with an extract from the sapiential and prophetical books. It were to be wished, we had the like assistance for profane history

II. In the studying of sacred history, we must not neglect the usages and customs peculiar to the people of God, their laws, their government, and manner of living. The excellent book of M. l'Abbé Fleuri's, entitled the *Manners of the Israelites*, contains all that can be desired upon this subject, and dispenses with treating it more at large.

III. It is proper to make youth take notice of the principal characters of the Jews, the carnal Jews I mean, who made up the body of the nation. The honour which God had shewn them, in chusing them to be his people, had filled them with pride. They looked upon all other nations with the utmost contempt. They thought every thing their due. Full of presumption, and an high opinion of themselves, they expected to be justified only by their own works. They placed their whole confidence in the outward observances of the law. They confined their vows and hopes to temporal advantages and earthly blessings. When brought to the trial, and reduced to any necessity, forgetful of all the benefits of God, and all the miracles he had wrought in their favour, and constantly disposed to rebel against him and their superiors, they gave themselves up to complaint, murmuring, and despair. And lastly, if we except the latter times, they had always an irresistible inclination to idolatry.

'Tis this last circumstance, which, in my opinion, lets us most into the real character of the Jewish nation, and is one of the principal motives of the choice which God made of them; I mean, their hardness of heart, an extreme inclination to do ill, by which God would shew us, that means purely exterior were absolutely incapable of correcting the heart of man, as they were all without exception employed for several ages in healing the Jews of idolatry, and teaching them to observe the first commandment, but
without

without success. Neither the long and miserable oppression they underwent in Egypt, nor the joy and gratitude for a miraculous deliverance, and the instruction of the law given at the foot of mount Sinai; neither the substitution of a new race, born in the wilderness, brought up by Moses, formed by the law, intimidated by the punishment of their fathers, nor their entrance into the promised land, and the actual enjoyment of all the effects of the promise; neither the different chastisements, nor the warnings and examples of the prophets, during their abode in that land, were able to root out that impious inclination. But growing still more wicked, more corrupt, and idolatrous in the promised land, than they had been in Egypt, God was at last obliged to send them captive to Nineve and Babylon; and yet this correction served only to harden them; so that giving themselves up to all manner of wickedness, they caused the name of the God of Israel to be blasphemed among the idolatrous nations, whom they exceeded in all manner of guilt and impiety.

'Tis God himself, who declares to us in his prophets, and especially in (a) Ezekiel, the design he had of shewing mankind, by the series of all the events which befel his people, of shewing them, I say, the excessive corruption of their hearts, and the inability of purely external remedies for the healing so ancient and inveterate an evil. This view is one of the great keys of scripture, and shews us most sensibly the secret and spirit of the Old Testament. Without the knowledge of this circumstance, the sacred history will consist of impenetrable obscurities, and remain an incomprehensible book to the greatest part of its readers. To what end, indeed was the choice of a people so obstinate and ungrateful? Why so many favours conferred upon Israel preferably to so many other nations, in all outward appearance better than they? Why so constant an attachment

(a) Ezek. xx.

attachment to this people, notwithstanding so fixed a perseverance in ingratitude? Why were they made to pass through so many various conditions? Why that continual alternative of promises and threatenings, consolations and afflictions, rewards and corrections? Why so many instructions, warnings, invitations, reproofs, miracles, prophets, and holy guides? Why so many benefits bestowed on a people, who, instead of growing better, became the worse for them? This depth of the divine wisdom which astonishes us, should at the same time instruct us; as, from this very obscurity, diffused through the whole conduct of God towards his people, there breaks out a light more clear than that of the sun, demonstrating to us the insufficiency of all outward applications in healing the corruption of the human heart.

IV. It appears evidently, from the manner in which the Old Testament is wrote, that the design of God in giving it to men, was to make them extremely attentive to the great examples of virtue, contained in it. The scripture cuts off in a few words the history of the ungodly, how great soever they were in the eyes of the world; and, on the other hand, dwells long upon the smallest actions of the righteous. The first book of Kings is the history of Samuel; the second that of David; the third and fourth, of Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah. The wicked seem to be mentioned only with regret, by accident, and on purpose to be condemned. If we compare what is said of Nimrod, who built the (o) two mighty cities of the world, and founded the greatest empire that ever was in the universe, with what is reported of the first patriarchs, we know not why the very important facts, which must have rendered the life of that famous conqueror so particular, and given so much light and ornament to ancient

(o) Nineveh and Babylon,

cient history, should be passed over with such rapidity, to dwell so long upon the minute, and seemingly necessary circumstances of the life, either of Abraham, or Jacob, which was still less illustrious than that of his grandfather. But God points out to us herein, how different his thoughts are from ours, in letting us see, in the first, what men admire and wish for; and, in the others, what he is well pleased with, and thinks worthy his approbation and our attention.

The scripture lays down rules, and prescribes models for all ranks and conditions. Kings and judges, rich and poor, husbands and wives, fathers and children, all find there most excellent instructions upon every branch of their duty. 'Tis an useful, and withal an agreeable exercise, to accustom youth to join together, of themselves, and repeat off-hand several examples upon the same subject.

KINGS in holy scriptures, I mean such as were after God's own heart, consider themselves only as the ministers of the supreme King, and use their authority only to make their subjects happy, by making them better. They are full of zeal for the glory of God and the public good. Let but any one carefully reflect upon the sentiments of piety which David expressed in the translation of the ark, and his preparations for building the temple; Jehoshaphat's visitation of his kingdom; Hezekiah's cares for religion, from the moment he began to reign; the indefatigable zeal of Josiah for restoring the true worship, not only in Judah, but in the ten tribes also, and he will plainly see, that those princes thought themselves placed on the throne, only to establish the kingdom of God in their dominions. And to shew that piety is not inconsistent with true politics, the scripture affects sometimes to mention in particular the wise precautions they took in war and peace; fortifications of towns, magazines of arms, disciplined troops; the cares of agriculture, of the feeding

feeding and preservation of cattle, the certain and innocent sources of the plenty that reigned throughout the country, and enabled the people to pay, with joy and ease, the taxes which were constantly regulated according to the real necessities of the state, and the abilities of every private subject.

JUDGES, magistrates, ministers, and all persons in authority, find perfect models in Moses, Joshua, the Judges to Samuel, in Job, Nehemiah, Esdras, and Eliakim. Their whole conduct shews an entire disinterestedness. They have no thoughts of establishing or raising a family. They are popular, plain, and modest, without pomp, without distinctions, without guards, without jealousy in the command, receiving the advice of persons below them with pleasure, and gladly sharing with them in authority.

RICHES, Abraham, Job, Boaz, &c.

We know that Abraham was very rich, and at the same time very liberal and generous. He would have looked upon it as a shame and a reproach, if any other than God had made him rich. [p] *I will not take any thing that is thine*, says he to the king of Sodom, who out of gratitude offered Abraham all the spoils he had recovered from the hands of the enemy, *lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abraham rich*. His house was open to all strangers and passengers. (q) The scripture represents this holy man as sitting at his tent door in the heat of the day, and placed there as a centinel for charity, to wait, or rather to seek opportunities of exercising hospitality; for it is said that he went to meet his guests: *And when he saw them, he ran to meet them*.

JOB was a powerful and mighty prince. The scripture gives us in him a magnificent picture of an eminent person, placed in authority, and abounding with riches. [r] From his youth, as he lively expresses his sentiments, compassion was brought up with him,

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and

[p] Gen. xiv. 23.

[q] Gen. xviii. 1, 2.

[r] Joh. xxxi. 18.

and had been his guide from his mother's womb. [s] He thought it superior to the most glorious titles, that he was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, the father of the poor, the sanctuary of strangers, the comforter of the widow, and the protector of the orphan that had none to help him. [t] He despised not to reason with his man-servant or his maid-servant, when they thought they had any subject of complaint against him, as thoroughly convinced that they had all one common master, and the same God was their creator and his. [u] He never placed his confidence in his great riches, and the destruction of his enemies never gave him any secret joy. [x] Accessible to all without distinction, he took cognizance of affairs with extreme application. [y] He put on righteousness and it clothed him; his judgment was as a robe and diadem: [z] he breaks the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of their teeth; [a] and the pleasing fruit he reaped from his zeal, was the satisfaction of having delivered him that was ready to perish, and having his blessing come upon him; [b] and at the same time that he sat in the midst of senators and princes, and dwelt as a king of the army, he ceased not to be the comforter of the afflicted.

BOAZ is no less admirable in this kind. [c] In the midst of riches he is laborious, diligent in husbandry, plain, without luxury, delicacy, sloth, or pride. How affable, how obliging, and kind to his servants! *The Lord be with you*, says he to his reapers; and they answered him, *The Lord bless thee*. This was the beautiful language of religious antiquity, but how little known in our days.

How commendable was his behaviour towards Ruth, when he desires her not to go into any other field

[s] Job xxix. 12, 15, 16.

[t] Chap. xxxi. 13. 15.

[u] Ver. 24, 25, 29.

[x] Chap. xxix. 15.

[y] Ver. 14.

[z] Ver. 17.

[s] Ver. 11, 13.

[b] Ver. 25.

[c] Ruth ii.

field to glean, but to abide fast by his maidens to eat and drink with them; and the charitable order he gives his reapers to let her glean even among the sheaves, and to let fall some of the handfuls on purpose for her, that she might gather them up without being ashamed: teaching us by this wise conduct, to save those we oblige the confusion of receiving, and ourselves the temptation of vain glory and even pleasure of giving. *‘Devestris quoque manipulis projicite de industriâ, et remanere permittite, ut sine rubore colligat.’*

TOBIT. The Holy Ghost gives us in this good man a perfect model of private life, and points out to us in him all the virtues and duties of that condition united together. We see in him a firm resolution, from his infancy, to stand upon his guard against the contagion of ill example; an equality of mind in the different situations of life; a generosity, in the time of his plenty, to succour the distressed, and lend even large sums without interest; a patience in supporting extreme poverty, not only without murmuring, but with thanksgiving; an invincible courage in the exercise of works of mercy; a gentleness in bearing domestic contradictions; a firm confidence in God under the severest trials; a constant care in the education of his son, as well by his example as instructions, in the fear of the Lord, in doing justice to his neighbour, and shewing compassion to the poor; and lastly, a lively and fixed expectation of future blessings, which supported and comforted him under the greatest afflictions. *We are, (c) says he, the children of the saints, and wait for that life which God will give to them who faithfully observe the promise they have made him.*

THE POOR. What an example is Job to such as have lost their substance all at once by unforeseen misfortunes. [d] *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.*

F 2

RUTH,

[c] Tobit. ii. 18.

[d] Job i. 21.

RUTH, astonished that Boaz should look upon a poor woman who was a stranger, teaches such as are reduced to beggary, as she was, how humble and grateful they ought to be, by reflecting that nothing is their due.

How happy would the case of the poor be, if, like Tobit, they had ever this excellent maxim in their minds, (e) *Fear not my son that we are made poor; for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.*

MARRIED PERSONS. The holy wives of the patriarchs; Sarah the daughter of Raguel; Ruth, Esther; Judith; Tobit and Tobias; Job. One single expression of Job's shews us how far the ancients carried conjugal chastity. Job was a rich and powerful prince, living in plenty, and attended by an obsequious court. Yet he tells us himself, that he had made an agreement with his eyes, and imposed the strict law upon them, never to cast a look upon a maid. (f) *I have made a covenant with mine eyes, why then should I think upon a maid?*

What I have observed of the rules and models to be found in scripture, that are suited to the several estates of life, will likewise hold good of different virtues, and every subject of morality.

Virtue constantly exercised, tried, and confirmed by afflictions. Abel, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, Job, Daniel, &c.

Vice unfortunate. Cain, Abimelech and the Schemites, Absalom, Achitopel, Jeroboam, Baasha, Ahab.

The pardon of injuries. Abraham, with respect to Lot; Joseph in regard to his brethren; David with respect to Saul.

The oppression of the poor. The weak widows, orphans and strangers, cry to heaven for vengeance, and obtain it. Abel against Cain; Jacob against Laban and

[e] Tob. iv. 23.

[f] Job xxxi. 1.

and Esau; Israel against the Egyptians; the blood of Gideon's children against Abimelech; Uriah against David; Naboth against Ahab and Jezabel.

Repentance covers the greatest sins, and prevents the execution of the most terrible threatenings: The Ninevites; the children of Israel very often; Ahab; Manasses.

V. The KNOWLEDGE of God and his attributes should be one of the greatest advantages to be drawn from the study of sacred history.

The UNITY of God. This truth is visible throughout the scripture, where God seems every where to cry aloud, that there is no other god or lord than himself. (g) *I am the Lord, and there is none else.—I am God and there is none else.*

The OMNIPOTENEC of God, manifested by the creation, preservation and government of the world; by the facility with which he raises whomsoever he pleases to the throne, and casts them down again; establishes kingdoms, and destroys them; makes nations flourishing and miserable: by the sovereign power he exercises, not only over what is outward and visible, but over the heart and mind, in turning them as he pleases, from one resolution to another, according to his designs. EXAMPLES, Laban and Esau marching against Jacob. The counsel of Achitophel defeated by Hushai. The whole army of Judah transported with rage and thirst of vengeance, marching under Rehoboam against Jeroboam, stopped and dispersed in an instant, upon the single admonition of the prophet. The army of Israel returning to Samaria, laden with spoils, and sending back two hundred thousand captives, upon the bare remonstrance of certain great men of Samaria, &c.

The GOODNESS of God and its motives. It diffuses itself with profusion, and inexhaustibly, by bestowing

flowing whatever is necessary, advantageous or delightful, upon men who know him not, who do not return thanks to him for it, and who even offend and blaspheme him.

The **PATIENCE** of God. Bearing with the crimes and impenitence of mankind for many ages, from the preaching of Enoch to the deluge. The measure of the Amorites was not full, till after four hundred years were expired. The Jewish nation supply us with many instances of it, particularly in the ruin of Samaria and Jerusalem, and the captivity of Israel and Judah, which were denounced for several years before they were executed.

The **JUSTICE** of God, when it shews itself at last, is terrible, destructive, inexorable; nothing can withstand or avert it. The deluge, Sodom, Nineveh, Babylon, &c.

The character of the punishment is usually proportioned to the nature of the crime. The whole earth, corrupted by mankind, is drowned with the waters of the deluge. The wretched cities burning with impure lusts are consumed by fire. The adultery and homicide of David are revenged by the incests and murders of his children.

The **PROVIDENCE** of God is universal, presides over all, to the minutest particular, governs and directs all. God calls the famine, the sword, and the pestilence, to punish the ungrateful, and humble the proud. He raises on a sudden the spirit of the people, who have no thoughts of war, and brings them from far to ravage a guilty nation. He inspires the troops with ardour, courage, obedience, and a contempt of fatigues and dangers. He gives the commanders vigilance, activity and boldness for undertaking the most difficult things, the foreseeing and distinguishing the most useful expedients; the authority and art of making themselves beloved and feared at the same time. He removes obstacles, facilitates enterprizes, and grants success. On the other hand, from those he means to destroy,

destroy, he takes away counsel, presence of mind, strength and courage. He throws disorder and consternation into armies, and turns the swords of the soldiers against their companions. He brings about his designs by the most unlikely means, as in the history of Joseph; and often by such methods, as seem the effects of pure chance, though all designed and prepared by infinite wisdom, as is clearly seen in the history of David, from his condition of a shepherd, to the death of Saul.

Masters, in explaining sacred history to youth, cannot too much insist upon Providence, as it is an attribute of God, which we are most nearly concerned to know, of the greatest importance, and most necessary; as it influences all events, both public and private, and every man ought to have it in his view, in every circumstance of life, and every action of the day; as it is the firmest basis of religion, and forms the most natural and strictest ties between the creature and Creator; as it makes us more thoroughly sensible of our entire dependence upon him, of our weakness and wants, and presents us with opportunities of exerting the greatest virtues; such as confidence in God, a grateful acknowledgment of his mercies, disinterestedness, humility, resignation, and patience; and as it furnishes piety and religious worship with the most usual subject of their exercises, by prayers, vows, thanksgivings, and sacrifices.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF FUTURITY. One of the most incommunicable characters of the divinity, is the knowledge of futurity. God often challenges the false deities to foretel what is to come. (h) *Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.* In teaching sacred history, youth must be made carefully to observe the most famous predictions, whether they regard temporal events, or respect religion; and at the same time the character of the prophets, their mission, the end

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(k) Isai. xli. 23.

and dangers of their office. They are holy and unblameable in their manners, lead a poor and obscure life, without ambition, without interest, or deriving any advantage from their predictions. They are sent to the unbelieving, who oppose and persecute them, and do not submit, till the fulfilling of the prediction has made it evident. Their predictions regard public events, and declare the fate of kingdoms. They are circumstantial, published long before their accomplishment, known to all and within the capacity of the most simple. All these particulars joined together are powerful motives for belief.

VI. Lastly, as Jesus Christ is the end of the law, whenever an occasion naturally offers, he should be pointed out to youth in the histories explained to them; in the sacrifices, the ceremonies, the actions of the patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets, in a word, in all those by whom God has thought fit, in some respect, figuratively to represent either Christ or the church, which is his spouse and his work.

VII. To all these observations I cannot avoid adding one more upon the advantage of PIETY, to which youth ought carefully to attend. And indeed it hath pleased God to shew through the whole series of the history of the Old Testament, that all promises and rewards, with respect even to this life, are annexed to PIETY; that all temporal advantages spring from God, as their sole original, and that we ought to expect them from him alone, though he has reserved for his servants in eternity such as are far more worthy his magnificence, and bear a greater proportion to virtue. It was this piety, which principally consisted in a firm confidence in God, that alone directed the fate of his people, and absolutely decided the public happiness and condition of the state. Every thing was measured by it, favourable seasons, plenty, fruitfulness, victory over
our

our enemies, deliverance from the greatest dangers, freedom from a foreign yoke, the enjoyment of all the advantages that could be tasted in the bosom of a profound peace. It obtained all, and surmounted every difficulty. It was by piety that Jonathan, with his armour-bearer alone, put a whole garrison to flight; that David, unarmed, overthrew the giant, and secured himself from the artifices and violence of Saul; that Jehoshaphat, without drawing a sword, triumphed over three nations in league against him; that Hezekiah saved Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah, by seeing the destruction of an hundred and fourscore and five thousand Assyrians. On the other hand, impiety drew down all the scourges of God's anger, famine, plague, war, defeats, bondage, and the entire ruin of the most mighty families, guilt always led to an unhappy end.

Such observations may very much contribute to inculcate sentiments of piety insensibly, agreeably, without trouble or affectation, without seeming to preach, or to read long lectures of morality. It is the principal end which God has proposed in connecting all the duties, virtues, precepts, salutary truths, mysteries, and, in a word, all religion, with such facts as men of every condition, age, and character are affected, because they fall within their capacity, and are no less agreeable than useful. To omit such observations, were to deprive youth of the greatest advantages to be reaped from the sacred books, and leave them ignorant of the essential part of scripture.

Having pointed out the principal things to be observed in reading and explaining sacred history, and in some measure laid down the foundations and principles of that study, I shall next make the application of them to some particular facts, to shew how the rules I have advanced may be reduced to practice. And this I shall do with the greatest order and clearness that I can.

C H A P. II.

*The APPLICATION of the foregoing PRINCIPLES
to some EXAMPLES.*

THE examples, to which I shall apply the rules I have laid down, shall be taken from two great men, very famous in scripture, Joseph and Hezekiah. And, to the history of these two, I shall add one article upon the prophecies.

A R T I C L E T H E F I R S T.

The STORY of JOSEPH.

AS this story is very long and well known, I shall be obliged to omit or abridge several circumstances, though very material in themselves, that I may not dwell too much upon this subject.

I. *Joseph sold by his brethren, carried into Egypt, brought into Potiphar's house, and thrown into prison.*
Gen. xxxvii. xxxix. xl.

Jacob had twelve children, of which Joseph and Benjamin were the youngest, and were born to him of Rachel. The particular affection which Jacob expressed towards Joseph, the liberty Joseph took of charging his brothers before him with a crime the scripture does not mention, and the account he gave them of his dreams, which denoted his future greatness, raised their jealousy and hatred against him.

One day as they saw him coming up to them in the country, where they were feeding their flocks, they said to one another, See, here the dreamer; cometh; come now, therefore, let us kill him,
and

and throw him into a pit, and we shall see what will become of his dreams. Upon the remonstrance of Reuben, they contented themselves with throwing him into the pit, and taking away his coat. Soon after they drew him out from thence, to sell him to a company of Ishmaelite merchants, who were going down into Egypt; and accordingly sold him to them for twenty pieces of silver. After this, they took his coat, and dipped it in the blood of a kid, and sent it to Jacob, saying, This coat have we found; see now whether it be thy son's coat or no. And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; a wild beast has devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces. And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

The Ishmaelites carried Joseph into Egypt, and sold him to one of the principal officers in Pharaoh's court, named Potiphar. *And the Lord, says the scripture, was with Joseph, and the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hand.* His master seeing that the Lord was with him, took him into favour, made him overseer over his house; and all that he had he put into his hands. Also, the Lord blessed the house of Potiphar, and he multiplied his blessings on all that he had, for Joseph's sake.

He had now lived a considerable time in Potiphar's house, when his mistress casting her eyes upon him, in the absence of her husband, solicited him to sin with her. But Joseph abhorred it, and said to her, How can I be so wicked, as to abuse the confidence placed in me by my master, and commit this sin against God? but she went on still to solicit him day by day, without obtaining her desires. At last, as Joseph was one day alone, she took hold of his garment, and pressed him to a consent. But Joseph left his garment in her hand, and fled. The woman, in great indignation at his refusal, set up a loud cry and calling to the men of her

her house, she told them that Joseph had attempted to do her violence, and as soon as he had heard her cry out, he fled. And when her husband came home, she said the same things to him, and shewed him the garment, as a proof of what she alledged. Potiphar, too credulous to the words of his wife, gave way to the violence of his passion, and shut him up in the prison where the king's prisoners were bound. But the Lord was with Joseph, had compassion on him and gave him grace in the eyes of the keeper of the prison.

Whilst Joseph was in prison, two of the great officers of Pharaoh's court, the chief butler and the chief baker, were thrown into the same place, by the king's order. And the keeper charged Joseph with them, as he had with all the other prisoners. Some time after, they both dreamed a dream, in the same night, which gave them great uneasiness. Joseph explained their dreams, and foretold to the butler, that within three days he should be restored to his employment; and told the baker, that within three days, Pharaoh would hang him on a tree, and the birds should eat his flesh from off him. And as he had said, so it fell out. The chief baker was put to death, and the butler restored. Joseph besought the butler to shew kindness to him, to make mention of him before Pharaoh, and bring him out of prison; for I was stolen away, says he from the land of the Hebrews, and have done nothing that they should shut me up in this dungeon. But the chief butler being restored again to favour, thought no more of his interpreter.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. What must we think of God's behaviour towards Joseph, whose virtue drew upon him such ill treatment, first from his brethren, who hated him, and cruelly used him; and then from his mistress
Potiphar's

Potiphar's wife, who wrongfully accused him, and caused him to be shut up like a wretch in a dungeon?

Ans. It has pleased God, by this conduct, to lay before us very important instructions.

First, His design is to undeceive mankind in the false notions they entertain of providence and virtue. They are apt to think that God neglects the care of human affairs, when those that fear him are oppressed and in misery. They think that virtue should always render such as are sincerely possessed of it, happy in this life. The scripture overthrows these mistaken prejudices, by the example of Joseph, over whom God was peculiarly watchful; and yet he was hated by his brethren, sold, banished, wrongfully accused, and thrown into prison; and, for all this, preserved his virtue pure and unfulled, without being ever the better for it, for several years; and was even thrown into captivity, and ran the hazard of losing his life, only for constantly persevering in his duty. It is true, God afterwards broke his bonds, and raised him to supreme authority. But Joseph was prepared to suffer oppression to the end of his days. He consented to die in prison, if it so pleased God; and would have been no less precious in his sight, nor less secure of the eternal blessings he hoped from his mercy, though he had appeared to have been forsaken by him to the last moment.

Qu. Does it actually appear, that God took a peculiar care of Joseph during his misfortunes?

Ans. The scripture seems to have been particularly careful to make us observe in what manner God protected his servant, by informing us (1), that God was always with him, and, for this reason, he was a prosperous man; that he caused him to find favour in the sight of his master, who saw that God was with him, and that he blessed him in all that he did; that he put it into Potiphar's heart to make him, young as he was, the overseer of all his house; that,

(1) Gen, xxxix. 2, &c;

that, to engage the master to his servant by a stronger and more lasting degree of affection, the Lord blessed the house of the Egyptian for Joseph's sake, and his blessing was upon all that he had in the house and in the field; insomuch that he left all that he had in his hand, and knew not ought he had, save the bread that he ate; that when Joseph was cast into prison, the Lord shewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, insomuch that he committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison, without looking to any thing that was under his hand; and placed such confidence in him, that nothing was done there without his direction; that, lastly, whatever he did, the Lord made it to prosper.

Qu. But, notwithstanding all these favours, was not the prison a very sorrowful dwelling for Joseph?

Ans. When thrown into prison, he seemed forsaken of all; but God descended with him into the obscure dungeon, wherein he was shut up. *For the Lord was with Joseph.* And the scripture does not scruple to say, that the eternal Wisdom became in a manner a prisoner with him; (a) *She went down with him into the pits, and left him not in bonds.* She softened the tediousness of the nights, which were spent in watching and suffering. She was a light in that darkness, whither the rays of the sun could not penetrate. She removed from solitude and captivity, which neither reading nor business could diminish or suspend the sense of, the terrible weight of disquietudes, which shock the most resolute. And, lastly, she diffused a calmness and serenity over his mind, of which the source was invisible and inexhaustible. When Joseph was made a partner in the throne of Pharaoh, it is not said, that Wisdom ascended with him thither, as it is said that she descended with him into prison. She accompanied him without doubt in the second estate, but the first was dearer to Joseph, and must be so to every man that has faith.

Qu. What

(a) Wisdom x. 13, 14.

Qu. What other instruction has it pleased God to give us in the conduct he observed with regard to Joseph?

Ans. He would teach us, in the second place, how his providence conducts all things to the execution of his designs, and how he makes the very obstacles, which men strive to throw in their way, subservient to them. The design of God was, to raise Joseph to such a degree of greatness and power, as should oblige his brothers to bow down humbly before him. Joseph's brethren opposed it; but says the scripture, (k) *There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord.* What they did to humble Joseph, was the first step by which God leads him to elevation and glory; and the horrible calumny of his unchaste mistress, which seemed to complete his misfortunes, was the circumstance which advanced him almost to the throne.

This, Joseph observes himself to his brethren afterwards, by telling them, it was not they that had sent him into Egypt, but God that had brought him thither. (l) *So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God.* These words are great matter of consolation to such as have faith. Whatever shall be designed against them, shall become the means of securing their happiness and salvation. Secret machinations, or open hatred, captivity, or calumny, shall bring them to the point which grace has marked out for them; after which, envy and injustice shall be confounded, and when they shall have settled Joseph upon the throne, they shall tremble in his presence.

Qu. What means did Joseph make use of to resist the temptation laid for him by his mistress?

Ans. We find in his conduct an excellent model of what we should do when we are tempted. Joseph defends himself at first by the remembrance of God and his duty. How, says he to that bold and shameless woman, can I commit such an action, who have God for my witness and my judge? 'Tis in his sight that

(k) Prov. xxi. 30.

(l) Gen. xlv. 8.

that you and I shall both become criminal. It is he who commands me to disobey you upon this occasion. How can I escape his view, or corrupt his justice, or be covered from his indignation? (a) *How then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?* But when the temptation was become so strong, that he had cause to fear his weakness might yield to it, he betakes himself to flight, forsakes all, and exposes himself to the utmost hazard, rather than continue in such a state, as might incline him to offend against God.

Qu. Is there no other reflection to be made upon the misfortunes and disgrace of Joseph?

Ans. How severe and unjust soever the treatment was which Joseph was to undergo, he never let fall the least word of murmuring and complaint. He never abandoned himself to discouragement, whilst he was a bond slave, but gave himself up entirely to the service of his master. So much leisure as prisoners have, and notwithstanding the natural inclination of mankind to talk of their own adventures, he never made a recital of his. And when under a necessity of laying himself open to the chief butler, he does it with such a moderation and charity, as cannot be sufficiently admired. *For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews, and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.* He neither names his brethren who had sold him, nor his mistress who had unjustly accused him. He only says, that he was carried away and made a slave, though free born, and condemned to a cruel prison, though he was innocent. Another person, of less humility and prudence, would have told the story of his life, and insisted upon the most honourable circumstances. If he had done so, the Holy Ghost would have left a virtue in darkness, which, rather than subsist in obscurity, would have chose to have been comforted under misfortune, by the vain satisfaction of making itself admired; whereas care has been taken to let all

ages

ages know what Joseph would not have mentioned in secret, nor in the obscure dungeon wherein he was shut up.

II. *Joseph's advancement. The first descent of his brethren into Egypt.* Gen. xli. xlii.

At the end of two full years after the butler was restored, Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in the same night. In the one, he saw seven fat kine coming up out of the river, which were devoured by seven other lean kine, that came up after them out of the same river. In the second, he saw seven full ears of corn, which were presently after devoured by seven thin ears. And when none of the wise men of Egypt could interpret these dreams, the butler remembered Joseph, and spoke of him to the king, who caused him presently to be brought out of prison, and told him his dreams. Joseph answered, that the seven fat kine and the seven full ears signified seven years of plenty; and the seven lean kine and thin ears signified seven years of famine which were to succeed them. And he advised the king, to look out a wife and discreet man, who should be employed, during the seven years of plenty, to lay up part of the corn in public store-houses, that Egypt might be supplied from thence in the years of famine. This counsel pleased Pharaoh, and he said to Joseph, I appoint thee this day to rule over the land of Egypt; according to thy word shall my people be governed, and only I shall be greater than thou. At the same time he took off his (1) ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him, Bow the knee. He also changed his name, and gave him one which signified, *The saviour of the world.*

The seven years of plenty fell out as Joseph had foretold. And he gathered up a great quantity of the corn, and laid it in the king's storehouses. The famine came next, and spread itself over all countries; but

(1) This ring was the royal seal.

but in Egypt there was corn. And when the people were almost famished, they cried unto Pharaoh for bread. And he said unto them, Go unto Joseph; what he saith unto you, do. Joseph then opened the storehouses, and sold corn to the Egyptians and other nations.

Jacob having heard that there was corn in Egypt, ordered his sons to go down thither. They went, to the number of ten; for Jacob kept Benjamin with him, lest some accident should happen to him by the way. When they were come into Egypt, they presented themselves before Joseph, and bowed down before him. Joseph knew his brethren, and seeing them lye at his feet, he remembered the dreams which he had formerly dreamed, but did not make himself known unto them. He spoke to them roughly, and treated them as spies, who were come to take a view of the country. But they answered him, My lord, we are come to buy corn; we are twelve brothers, all one man's sons, who is in the land of Canaan. The youngest is left with our father, and the other is dead. Well then, answers Joseph, by this ye shall be proved. Send one of you to fetch your brother, and the rest shall be kept in prison. He thought fit, however, to detain but one of them. Struck with terror and remorse, they said one to another in their own language, This distress is justly come upon us, for being guilty concerning our brother. We saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us to have pity upon him, but we would not hear him. Therefore is this misfortune come upon us. Reuben, one of them, said to them, Spake I not then unto you, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear; therefore now is his blood required of you by God. Joseph, who understood them, though they knew it not, could not refrain from weeping. He left them for a moment, and returned again to talk with them. Then he took Simeon, and bound him before their eyes; and privately commanding his officers to restore every man's money into his sack, they departed with their asses loaden with corn.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. Why did God leave Joseph in prison so many years, without seeming to be mindful of him?

Ans. 'This term, which seems long indeed to a prisoner, was necessary to confirm Joseph in humility, submission to the will of God, and patience. We should have looked upon him with concern, had we seen him in bonds, and known his innocence. But God, who had a far more indulgent and tender compassion for him, left him in a condition, from which we should have delivered him. He knew what was wanting to his virtue; how long the remedies requisite for his health were to last. He saw his future temptations and dangers, and prepared for him during his bondage, the assistances and strength he would stand in need of after his advance. Thus he deals with his elect; he strengthens them in patience and humility, and does not expose them to temptation, till they are duly prepared to resist it.

Qu. How came Pharaoh so easily to resolve upon the choice of Joseph for his first minister, and to invest a stranger and a foreigner with sovereign power?

Ans. 'Tis the happiness of a nation, when a prince is inspired with a salutary thought. Whilst Joseph was speaking to the ears of Pharaoh, God instructed him in secret. He caused him to attend to the sage advice and prudent counsels of a stranger and a captive; and removed from him all the prejudices, which so frequently hinder persons in high station from submitting to the evidence of truth, and acknowledging an understanding superior to their own. He made him comprehend, that a mere human wisdom would be improper to execute what had been suggested to him by wisdom from above, and that it would be in vain to seek out for any other minister, than the person whom God had chosen. *Can we find, (m) says Pharaoh, such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?* In

(m) Gen. xli. 38.

In talking thus, he entirely reformed the errors of a false policy, which considers virtue and religion as unserviceable in the government of a state, and finds an exact probity too great a check upon its views and projects. This stupid impiety is exposed to eternal shame by an infidel king. He is convinced, that the more of the Spirit of God a minister has, the more capable he is of governing a kingdom. And the least attention suffices to discover, that the opposite principle flows from the utter want of human understanding.

Qu. What must we think of Joseph's glory, when raised almost to a throne?

Ans. The Holy Ghost informs us in another book, that the calumnies which had been cast upon Joseph, were then fully dispersed, and the authors of them convicted of forgery. (n) *As for them that had accused him, she shewed them to be liars, and gave him perpetual glory.* Thus the pomp which surrounded him, was the triumph of virtue. 'Twas virtue that was exposed a spectacle to all nations, that was seated in a magnificent chariot, from whence she instructed the righteous in all ages, never to give way to despair, but to retain an invincible patience. 'Twas before virtue that all the world bent the knee, and Joseph was the herald, exhorting all men to the practice of virtue, at the same time that the herald, who went before him, required that external mark of respect to be paid to the first minister of Pharaoh.

Qu. Were Joseph's dreams fulfilled with respect to his brethren?

Ans. They were evidently so, upon their falling prostrate at his feet. (o) *And Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth.* Thus was brought to pass what they had been so apprehensive of, when they knew not the interest they had in owning him for their master.

(n) Wisd. x. 14.

(o) Gen. xlii. 6.

ster. The more they strove to prevent it, and make themselves independent of him, the more they contributed to advance his authority. They resolved not to fall down before him, whilst they had him amongst them; but go to seek him in Egypt, to throw themselves at his feet. They forsook him, and would have taken away his life, when sent to them by their father; but were compelled to appear before him, after a kind of resurrection, with fear and trembling. They fall down before him like Egypt and the other nations, whose example they follow, and are not afraid of being rejected by him, because they looked upon him as the saviour of the world; whereas they had before been apprehensive of being subject to him, whilst they considered only their own depression in his advancement.

Qu. What do we learn from the remorse of Joseph's brethren, for the cruel treatment they had shewn him?

Anf. We see, in their self-accusations, both the force of conscience, and the advantage of the holy education Jacob gave his children, which, though not always void of offence, was still never totally extinguished; they revered the law which condemned their actions. *We are verily guilty, (p) said they one to another, concerning our brother, and therefore is this distress justly come upon us.* Men can never entirely efface the sense which God has impressed upon their hearts, of his presence and justice. They will never succeed in persuading themselves, that sin is in its nature indifferent, or was not seen, or will remain unpunished. Their fears may be removed sometimes by the patience and silence of their judge, or the number of their accomplices; but when vengeance comes to shew itself, they shall be the first to own that they have deserved it, and their accomplices will then seem to them but as so many witnesses, who are ready to accuse and confound them.

III. The

(p) Gen. xlii. 21.

III. *The second descent of Jacob's children into Egypt. Joseph made known to his brethren. Gen. xliii, xlv, xlv.*

When Jacob's children, upon their return, had told him all that had befallen them, the imprisonment of Simeon, and the express order they had received, to carry Benjamin down into Egypt, the sorrowful news filled him with grief, and renewed his former concern for the loss of Joseph. He long refused to let his dear Benjamin go, in whom he placed his sole consolation. But at last, seeing there was a necessity for it, and that, otherwise, both must perish by famine, he consented to his departure, upon the repeated assurances his other children gave him, that they would bring him back again. They all then set out together with presents for Joseph, and double the money they had found in their sacks.

Being come into Egypt, they presented themselves before Joseph. As soon as he saw them, and Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and slay, and make ready; for these men shall eat with me at noon. The steward executed Joseph's order, and brought them into his house. Surprised at this treatment, they imagined he had sought for an occasion against them, because of the money they had found in their sacks. They then began to justify themselves to the steward, by saying, they knew not how it came to pass, but, as a proof of their honesty, they had brought back the money. The steward encouraged them, bidding them not be afraid; that their God, and the God of their fathers, had given them treasure in their sacks; but that for his part, he had their money. And straightway he brought out Simeon unto them. They had water then given them; and when they had washed their feet, they waited for the coming in of Joseph.

When Joseph came home, they bowed themselves to him to the earth, and offered him their presents. Joseph having graciously asked them of their welfare, said

said to them, Your father, the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive? And they answered, Thy servant our father is in good health; he is yet alive: And at the same time they bowed themselves down to the earth again. Joseph casting his eyes upon Benjamin, And is this, says he, your younger brother, of whom ye spake to me? God be gracious, adds he to him, unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste to go out; for the sight of his brother had affected him so much, that he could no longer refrain from tears. Presently after, he returned to his brethren, and having ordered dinner to be brought in, he sat down to eat with them.

When Joseph had eaten with his brethren, he gave a secret order to his steward, to fill their sacks with corn, and to put every man's money in his sack's mouth; and put my silver cup, says he, in the sack of the youngest. His steward obeyed, and the next morning they departed, with their asses loaden with corn. But they were scarce got out of the town, before Joseph sent his steward after them, to charge them with stealing his cup. They were much surprised to find themselves accused of so base an action, which they had never so much as thought of. We brought back, said they, the money we found in our sacks mouths, how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? With whomsoever of thy servants it is found, let him die; and also we will be my lord's bondmen. The steward took them at their words; and searching their sacks, beginning with the eldest, the cup was found in Benjamin's sack.

They returned to the city in great affliction, and went to throw themselves at Joseph's feet. After some reproaches, he told them, that he in whose sack the cup was found, should continue his slave. Then Judah, having asked leave to speak, represented to Joseph, that if they returned to their father without bringing back with them the son he so tenderly loved, they should kill him with sorrow. I,
adds

adds he, became a surety for him with my father; let me therefore, I pray thee, abide in his stead a bondman to my lord; for I cannot return without him, lest I see the evil that shall come upon my father.

At these words, Joseph could refrain himself no longer. He commanded all that were present to go out from him. Then, the tears falling from his eyes, he cried aloud, and said to his brethren, I am Joseph; does my father yet live? And they could not answer him, for they were troubled at his presence. He then spoke gently to them, and said, Come near to me. And they came near, I am Joseph, says he, your brother whom you sold into Egypt. Now, therefore, be not grieved and angry with yourselves that you sold me hither; for God sent me before you to preserve life: So now, it was not you that sent me hither, but God. Go, tell my father, that God hath made me lord of all Egypt. Let him make haste to come down, and he shall dwell near me; and I will nourish him and all his family, for there are yet five years more of famine. You see with your eyes, that it is I who am talking to you. Tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that you have seen; and make haste to bring him down hither. And when he had said thus, he fell upon Benjamin's neck, and embraced him with tears. And he kissed all his brethren; and after that they were encouraged to talk with him.

The news was soon spread through the whole court. Pharaoh expressed his satisfaction in it to Joseph, and bade him presently bring down all his family into Egypt. Joseph dismissed his brethren, with provisions for their journey, and waggons to bring down their father, their wives and children. When they were come into the land of Canaan, they said to Jacob, Joseph your son is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. And Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not. But at last, when he had heard all that had past, and had seen the

the waggons, and the other presents his son had sent, he said, It is enough, Joseph my son is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die. He soon after took his journey, with all his family, and went down into Egypt. And when he had paid his respects to the king, Joseph placed him in the land of Goshen, the most fruitful part of Egypt, where Jacob lived seventy years.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. Joseph's discovering himself to his brethren, is the most affecting and tender part of his story, but is preceded by strange circumstances. In short, how can we reconcile his forgetfulness and indifference towards his father and brethren, whom he leaves exposed to the fatal consequences of a cruel famine, and the extreme severity he uses them with in calumniating and imprisoning them; how, I say, can we reconcile all this with that goodness and tenderness, which cannot help shewing itself at the very time that he is using them thus severely?

Ans. 'Tis this seeming contradiction, which should let us see, that there is some mystery concealed under the outside of an action, which otherwise might offend reason, and appear opposite to the sentiments which nature has implanted in the hearts of all mankind.

Joseph sold by his brethren to the Egyptians, considered by Jacob as dead, forgotten by all his family, honoured in the mean time, and ruling in Egypt, is incontestibly the figure of Jesus Christ, delivered into the hands of the Gentiles by the Jews, generally renounced by his own nation, put to death by their cruel envy, owned and adored by the Gentiles as their Saviour and their King.

In the first journey the children of Jacob made into Egypt, 'tis said, (q) *that Joseph knew his brethren, but was not known by them.* This is the condition

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(q) Gen. xlii. 8.

of the Jews. By refusing to submit to Jesus Christ, they ceased to see him, but could not free themselves from his dominion. They read the scriptures, and they find their Lord, without knowing him. They saw him, and did not receive him, He spoke to them in parables, because they were unworthy to hear the mysteries which they refused to believe. But the veil will not always remain over their heart.

During the long interval their blindness lasts, they suffer a cruel famine, not of material bread, but as the prophet had foretold, of the word of God, which they are not allowed to understand. (r) *I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord.* The land of Canaan is condemned to a total sterility. The true bread of life is found only in Egypt. Whoever would live, must necessarily go down thither; and till Benjamin, the last of Jacob's children, and the figure of the latter Jews, appears there in person, the famine will forely afflict that wretched nation

Hitherto Joseph shall appear to be hard-hearted towards his brethren. He shall speak to them, as though he knew them not, with an angry voice and a rigid countenance: (s) *He made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly to them.* 'Tis thus that Christ has long behaved towards an ungrateful and blind people. He appears not to know his brethren according to the flesh. He seems to have forgotten the fathers of a faithless and bloody generation.

Yet Joseph offered violence to himself in concealing his affection. He could not refrain from weeping; he was obliged to turn aside, to hide his face, and withdraw from time to time to vent his tears. The pains he took to conceal them, was the figure of that secret mercy hid in the bosom of God, and reserved till the time appointed in his eternal counsel. The promises of God will be accomplished upon Israel; for his gifts are without repentance, and

(r) Amos viii 11.

(s) Gen. xlii. 7.

and his truth endureth for ever. But a just severity suspends the effects of a clemency, which our groans, joined to those of the prophets, are to hasten.

Qu. Can Joseph be looked upon in any other circumstances of his life as the figure of Jesus Christ?

Ans. There are few saints of the old Testament, in whom God has been pleased to express so many circumstances of resemblance with his Son, as in Joseph. The bare repetition of them will be an evident proof of this observation.

PARTICULARS of AGREEMENT between JESUS CHRIST and JOSEPH.

JOSEPH.

JESUS CHRIST.

He is hated of his brethren.

He is hated by the Jews.

1. For accusing them of some great crime.

1. For reproving them for their sins.

2. For being affectionately beloved by his father.

2. For declaring himself to be the Son of God, and saying, that God himself called him his well-beloved Son.

3. For foretelling his future glory.

3. For foretelling, that they should see him sitting at the right hand of God.

He is sent by his father to his brethren at a distance.

He is sent by God his Father to the lost sheep of the House of Israel.

His brethren conspire against his life.

The Jews form a design of putting him to death.

He is sold for twenty pieces of silver.

He is sold for thirty pieces of silver.

He is given up into the hands of strangers by his own brethren.

He is delivered up to the Romans by the Jews.

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His garment was dipped in blood.

He is condemned by Pontiphar, without any one's speaking in his behalf.

He suffers in silence.

Placed between two criminals, he foretels the advancement of the one, and the approaching death of the other.

He lies three years in prison.

He arrives at glory by sufferings and humiliations.

He is fet over the house of Pharaoh, and over all Egypt.

Pharaoh alone is above him.

He was called the Saviour of the world.

All bend the knee before him.

The famine is in all lands; there is no bread but in Egypt, where Joseph governs.

All are sent back to Joseph by Pharaoh.

All

The humanity he was clothed with, suffers a bloody death.

He is condemned, and no body speaks in his defence.

He suffers all kind of injuries and punishments without complaining.

Placed between two thieves, he foretels the one, that he should go in to Paradise, and lets the other die impenitent.

He lies three days in the grave.

It behoved that Christ should suffer, and thus enter into his glory.

He is made head of the church, and every creature is made subject unto him.

He is above every creature, but subject to God, as man.

His name of JESUS signifies a Saviour, and is indeed the only one by whom we can be saved.

Every creature must bow at the name of Jesus Christ.

Poverty and error are universal; truth and grace are found only in the church, where Jesus Christ reigns.

There is no salvation, no grace, but by Jesus Christ.

All

All the neighbouring people come into Egypt to buy corn. All nations are admitted into the church to obtain salvation.

Joseph's brethren come to him, own him, fall down before him, and are fixed in Egypt. The Jews will one day return to Jesus Christ, own him, worship him, and enter into the church.

In all these applications, and I could add several others, is there any thing forced or constrained? Could pure chance have possibly thrown together so many resembling circumstances, so different, and, at the same time, so natural? I should as soon say, that the most finished and resembling pourtrait was also the effect of mere chance. It is plain, that an intelligent hand did purposely contrive and apply all these colours to make a perfect picture, and that the design of God, in joining together so many singular circumstances in the life of Joseph, was to describe the principal lines in that of his Son. We should therefore know the history of Joseph only by halves, if we stopped at the bare surface, without informing ourselves of the hidden and mysterious sense, wherein the most essential part of it consists, as Jesus Christ is the end of the law and of all the scriptures.

I beg the reader to observe, that though these particulars relating to Joseph and Jesus Christ are so extremely natural and alike, there is no mention made of their agreement either in the gospels, or the writings of the apostles; which shews, that besides the figures, which are explained in the New Testament, there are others so plain and evident, that we cannot reasonably doubt of their containing also some mystery. But we must be very cautious and reserved upon this last kind, especially when we are instructing youth, and principally insist upon the figures, of which Christ and his apostles have made the application.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

The Miraculous Deliverance of JERUSALEM under HEZEKIAH.

I SHALL treat of this fact only in the life of the holy king Hezekiah, as it is one of the most signal in sacred history, and most proper to make us sensible of the omnipotence of God, and his watchfulness over those who place their confidence in him. And here I shall barely point out the principal circumstances, which the reader may see at large, if he consults the historical books that give an account of it, and especially the prophecies of Isaiah, which contain a very clear and express prediction of it.

(t) Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, was set out from Nineveh, with a formidable army, designing to destroy utterly the city of Jerusalem, with its king and inhabitants. (u) He assured himself of victory, and insulted before-hand the God of Jerusalem, saying, he would treat him as he had done the gods of all the other cities and kingdoms he had conquered.

(x) He knew not that he was but an instrument in the hands of God, who called him by an hissing (as the scripture expresses it) from the end of the earth, not to destroy, but to correct his people.

All opposition gave way before the victorious arms of this prince; in a little time, he made himself master of all the fortified places in the land of Judah.

(y) Jerusalem was in great consternation. Hezekiah had taken all necessary measures to put the city in a condition to make a vigorous defence; but he relied only upon the divine assistance for its deliverance.

(z) God had engaged himself by a solemn and frequently

(t) 2 Kings xviii. 13.

(u) Isaiah x. 7. 15.

(x) Isaiah v. 26. viii. 11. x. 5. 6.

(y) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2, 8.

(z) Isaiah xxx.

quently repeated promise, to defend the city against the assault of the King of Assyria, but upon condition that the inhabitants should depend only upon him, should remain quiet, and not seek aid from the king of Egypt. *In returning and rest shall ye be saved*, (z) said he to them, *in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength*. (a) He had several times declared to them, that the strength of Egypt should turn to their shame and confusion. (b) To render this prediction still more sensible to them, he had obligated the prophet Isaiah to walk naked and barefoot through the midst of Jerusalem, declaring that such should be the fate of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

The great men, the politicians, could not be satisfied to continue inactive, and rely upon the promise of God. (c) They collected a considerable sum of money, and sent deputies to the king of Egypt, to implore his assistance. Several of them thought fit to retire into that country, in hopes of finding a secure retreat there against the evils with which they were threatened. God several times reproached them for it by his prophet, but always in vain. And the holy king Hezekiah incessantly repeated to them, (d) *The Lord will deliver us; Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hands of the Assyrians*. But they hearkened not unto him.

(e) This holy king, fearing he had done wrong in breaking the treaty he had made with the king of Assyria, resolved, in order to have nothing to reproach himself with, and all possible right on his side, to make him entire satisfaction. He therefore sent ambassadors to Lachish, and said to him, I have offended, return from me; that which thou puttest on me I will bear. And the king of Assyria appointed Hezekiah to give him three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold.

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[z] Ver. 15.

(a) Ver. 1.—5.

(b) Isaiah. xx. 1.—6.

(c) Isaiah xxx.

(d) 2 Kings, xviii. 32. et. xix. 10.

(e) 2 Kings, xviii. 19.

This sum he raised with much difficulty, and sent it to him. There was reason to hope, that such a step would have disarmed the rage of Sennacherib; but he grew more haughty upon it, and adding perfidy to injustice, he sent immediately a large body of troops against Jerusalem, with orders to Rabshakeh, who commanded that detachment, to summon Hezekiah and the inhabitants to surrender, in the name of the great king, the king of Assyria. This Officer discharged his commission in terms of full contempt for the king of Judah, and insults against the God of Israel. When Hezekiah heard it, he rent his clothes, put sackcloth upon his loins, and went into the house of the Lord; from whence he dispatched his principal officers to Isaiah, to tell him the insolent words of Rabshakeh. The prophet replied, You shall say thus to your master, Thus saith the Lord, be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

(f) In the mean time, Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, had sent messengers to Jerusalem, to assure the inhabitants that he was coming up to their relief. And soon after he arrived with his whole army, joined to that of the Egyptians. (g) Upon the first news that Sennacherib received of it, he resolved to march against him. But first he sent his ambassadors to Hezekiah with a letter full of blasphemies against the God of Israel. The holy king in great affliction, went straight to the temple, spread forth this impious letter before the Lord, and represented to him, in a lively and pathetic prayer, that it was against him they fought; that the Glory of his name was affected, and that, for this reason, he presumed to

(f) Isaiah xviii. 1,—3.

(g) 2 Kings xix. 9,——34.

to ask a miracle of him, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know, that he alone was the Lord, and the true God. In that moment, Isaiah sent to tell Hezekiah, that the Lord had heard his prayer, and the city should not even be besieged. Whom, says God, addressing himself to Sennacherib, hast thou reproached and blasphemed? Against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lift up thy hands on high? Even against the Holy One of Israel. Because thy rage against me, and the tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle into thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

(h) The king of Ethiopia full of confidence in the number of his troops, thought that the sight of him would suffice to put the Assyrians to flight, and set Jerusalem free. He knew not the curse which God had denounced against him, for presuming to declare himself the protector and deliverer of Jerusalem and the people of God, as though both had been without hope or refuge, unless he had hastened to take upon him their defence. His army was cut to pieces. The slaughter was so great, and the flight so swift, that there was no person left to bury the dead. After this victory, the king of Assyria carried the war into Egypt itself. All there was in disorder and confusion. God had taken away counsel and prudence from the wise counsellors of Egypt and mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof. He deprived their leaders of all strength and courage; so that they made no resistance, and the whole country lay exposed to the discretion of an avaricious and cruel prince, who carried away an infinite number of captives, as (i) Isaiah had foretold.

(k) When Sennacherib had returned with his victorious troops before Jerusalem, it is easy to imagine how great the consternation of the city must have been

G 5

(h) Is. xviii. and xix. (i) Is. xx. (k) Is. xxii. 1, 5, 7.

been. They saw an immense army encamped at their gates, and all the neighbouring country covered with chariots of war. The enemy was preparing to lay siege to the city, and lift up their voice against mount Sion. The time of their destruction seemed to draw nigh; but it was that of divine mercy, and their deliverance. That very night (which doubtless preceded the day appointed for a general attack) the angel of the Lord came into the camp of the Assyrians, and slew an hundred and four score and five thousand men. Sennacherib rising at the break of day, beheld the dead bodies, and immediately returned to Nineveh, where he was soon after slain by his own sons in the temple, and in the presence of his gods.

REFLECTIONS.

I. SENNACHERIB *the* INSTRUMENT of God's WRATH.

(l) Isaiah, foretelling the departure of Sennacherib and his army, speaks of God in a manner suitable to the grandeur and majesty of the Almighty. He has only to give the signal, and set up the standard, and all the princes of the earth repair to it. All the kings of the world are but as flies in comparison of him. All their power is weakness in his sight. (m) He hisses for them and they march, it was a great consolation to the faithful of those days, to know for certain, that all the evils which befel them were ordained by divine providence; that God sent them as remedies, and not barely as punishments; that men were only the ministers of his justice; and they were guided by his wisdom at the time they were thinking to gratify their own passions.

(n) It is God himself, that reveals to us the extravagant imaginations of Sennacherib, who being no more

(l) Isai. vii. 18. and x. 5. 6.

(m) The Lord shall hiss for the fly—and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria. Isai. vii. 18.

(n) Isai. x. 7, —15.

more than a servant, thinks himself the master, and not seeing the hand which employs him, attributes all to his own, and fears not to set himself in the place of God. Can the instrument say God, boast itself against the artist who makes use of it? Does the work properly belong to the instrument or workman? Is it not the height of folly, that the instrument should rise up against the hand and understanding that employ it? Yet thus did the king of Assyria think and act.

II. *The GREAT MEN apply to the KINGS of ETHIOPIA and EGYPT.*

We see here how dangerous it is to prefer the views of human prudence to those of faith. God had promised to deliver Jerusalem, provided the inhabitants would keep themselves quiet, and place their sole confidence in him. Here they were to fix. But the assistance of God was invisible, and seemed at a distance. The danger was present, and augmented daily. The succours of Egypt were nigh at hand, and seemed certain. According to all the rules of human policy, nothing ought to have been omitted towards obtaining the protection of two such powerful kings, as those of Egypt and Ethiopia. Besides, would it not be tempting God, to expect a miracle? And in the extreme danger they were, would it not be folly to continue inactive? The event will shew, whether these politicians or Hezekiah reasoned most justly.

III. *The IMPIOUS SPEECHES and BLASPHEMING LETTERS of SENNACHERIB.*

(o) The speeches and letters of Sennacherib, with reason, appear impious, senseless, and detestable in the mouth of a worm, against the majesty of heaven.

(o) 2 Kings, xix.

ven. This prince blinded by his success, and not knowing whence it arose, entertained the same notions of the God of Judah, as of all the other gods, whose power, in his opinion, was confined to certain regions, and some particular effects, and were capable of being entirely overthrown, notwithstanding their divinity. He saw nothing in the God of Israel to distinguish him from the multitude of gods he had conquered. His empire was inclosed within the narrow limits of a small country, and confined to the mountains. His name was scarce known among the neighbouring nations. This God had already suffered the ten tribes to be carried away by the kings of Nineveh: He had just lost all the fortified places of the tribe of Judah, which alone was left him; and all his dominion, all his people all his worshipers, and his whole religion, were reduced to a single city, in all outward appearance without any power to secure himself from the destruction which Sennacherib looked upon as inevitable.

'Tis admirable to see in what manner God is pleased to confound the insolent pride of this prince, who caused himself to be called the great king, the king by way of excellence; who considered himself as an invincible conqueror, as the Lord of the earth, and the subduer of men and gods. This prince so proud and haughty, the God of Israel will treat like a wild beast; he will put a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his mouth, and turn him back with disgrace and infamy, by the same way that he came triumphant and glorious. Such is the fate of human pride.

IV. *The DEFEAT of the KING of ETHIOPIA.*

'Tis easy to discern in the punishment of the king of Ethiopia, the jealousy of the Lord of Hosts against whomever pretends to be his rival, or to share with him in glory, in presuming to assist him in the preservation of his inheritance, or in freeing it
from

from difficulties, wherein his promise had too far engaged it. And in the sad fate of the Israelites, who had recourse to Egypt, we may plainly see the condemnation of all such, as either doubt of the promises made to the church, whereof Jerusalem is certainly the figure, or who think, that, under certain difficult and dangerous circumstances, they stand in need of human strength and wisdom.

V. *The ARMY of the ASSYRIANS cut off by the DESTROYING ANGEL.*

The short and plain manner in which this wonderful event is related in the historical books, is truly worthy of the grandeur of God. *And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred four score and five thousand.* With what ease can God bring down the pride of an haughty prince, destroy so many brave officers, and exterminate so numerous and formidable an army? it cost him but a blast: *I will send said he, a blast upon him, and he shall return into his own land.*

But the sublimity that appears in the prophet's stile who foretold all the circumstances of this great event, is no less worthy the Divine Majesty, who here displayed his omnipotence in so wonderful a manner. With what noble ideas do the expressions of Isaiah present us? (p) When all seemed desperate, I will change the face of affairs in a moment, said the Lord, *it shall be at an instant suddenly.* When the enemies of Jerusalem, who know not that they act by my commission, shall think themselves masters, I will make them as small as the dust in one night. I will scatter them as a whirlwind. They shall find no general in the morning, not one officer with his company; and the confidence they had, that Jerusalem was theirs, shall be

be like the imagination of an hungry man in his dream, who thinks that he eats, but wakes, and finds himself empty. *It shall be even as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty.*

The senseless pride of Sennacherib, his impious blasphemies, awaken the Lord, who seemed as though he were asleep. And then they understand the full force and energy of these words, (q) *Now will I arise, now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself.* From his throne and sanctuary upon Mount Sion God sends forth thunder and lightning; from his altar in Jerusalem, the sacred furnace, where a perpetual fire burns to his Glory, proceed avenging flames to devour his enemies. (r) *Thus saith the Lord, whose fire is in Sion, and whose furnace is in Jerusalem.*

In effect, (s) Isaiah describes the surprising destruction of a whole army offered up to the just vengeance of a jealous God, so unworthily insulted, as a public and solemn sacrifice. The hand of the Lord, says the prophet, shall smite and scatter, and universally destroy. The terrible noise of his thunder shall be to him and his servants, whom he undertakes to defend, as an agreeable concerts of tabrets, and harps, and other instruments of music, which upon great feasts, accompany the offering of sacrifice; and the Assyrians, sacrificed to his vengeance, shall be to him as a solemn victim. * *Auditam faciet Dominus gloriam vocis suæ, et terrorem Brachii sui ostendent in comminatione furoris, et flamma ignis devorantis, allidet in turbine et in lapide grandinis. A voce enim Domini pavebit Assur, virgâ percussus. Et erit transitus virgæ fundatus, quam requiescere faciet Dominus super eum*

(q) Isa. xxxiii. 10. The French translation loses a great part of the beauty of this, by not repeating the word now. "Je me le-
"verai maintenant, je signalerai ma grandeur, je ferai eclater
"ma puissance."

(r) Isai. xxxi. 8, 9.

(s) Isai. xxx. 30. 32.

“eum in tympanis, et cytharis; et in bellis præcipuis expugnabit eos.” The original term is proper to sacrifices, and the passage may be translated thus, “et bellis, *or* certamine, quod sacrificio solenni simile erit, expugnabit eos.

VI. REASONS of GOD'S PATIENCE *in* BEARING *with* SENNACHERIB, *and* his SLOWNESS *in* the DELIVERANCE of JERUSALEM.

No one knows the designs of God before they are executed; and whilst they are accomplishing, it is impossible to point out where numberless events will end, whereof we can neither perceive the connexion, the uses, nor motives, and which seem to induce the necessity of universal ruin.

When the public evils began to shew themselves in the time of Hezekiah, they seemed to be extreme. When all the country was ruined, and the cities destroyed, those misfortunes were believed without resource, and incapable of remedy. But when Jerusalem saw the formidable army of the Assyrians at their gates, the famine and the pestilence raging within, and all human hope cut off by the defeat of the Ethiopians, who were coming up to their relief; it then seemed folly to expect a miraculous protection, since God had opposed all outward means of help, and declared in favour of the enemy.

A weak faith was incapable of supporting so long a trial, and those who had the strongest and most persevering, were astonished at the slowness wherewith God fulfilled his promises, and surpris'd at his patience in suffering all to perish, and be reduced almost to a condition of not being the better for his assistance. But it belongs not to the clay to judge of the time that is taken up in the fashioning of it. The first strokes of the chisel do not polish a stone, or form a beautiful statue: nor is it a moderate fire that will melt and purify gold. God attends to his own wisdom and mercy,

cy, and not to the thoughts of man, in completing his works. He does not leave them imperfect, in compliance with their short views or impatience; he perseveres in his designs, though he despises not the groans and tears of his servants, till all that he has resolved is accomplished.

He then lays aside all the preparations, springs, and movements he made use of to bring about his works. He stops the hands which he conducted; he suspends the action of the instruments, which are now no longer serviceable; he permits not the chisel to cut the figure that is thoroughly perfected; and he breaks in pieces abundance of materials, that were employed only for a season.

'Twas thus God dealt with Sennacherib: he used him as an instrument to correct his people and purify Jerusalem. After he had reduced the city to a small number of righteous persons, who were deeply humbled under his afflicting hand, he then thought of punishing the blasphemies of that prince, whose pride had led him into impiety. *When the Lord had performed his whole work upon mount Sion, and on Jerusalem, then, saith he, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.*

VII. TRUST IN GOD *the* PREVAILING CHARACTER of HEZEKIAH.

'Tis remarkable, that the Holy Ghost, the sole good judge of real merit, in drawing the character of so holy a prince as Hezekiah, rests satisfied with saying, that he trusted in the Lord God of Israel: (a) "*In Domino Deo Israel speravit.*" The scripture adds, that he carried his virtue farther than any of the kings of Judah, who came after him, or went before him. Faith indeed was never put to so long
and

(a) 2 Kings xviii. 5.

and so severe a trial. All was against him. It looked like folly to wait any longer for the assistance of heaven, when all was desperate, and to refuse upon a single man's word, either to submit to the king of Assyria, or to implore any foreign aid. But depending strongly upon the word of God, he continued firm, as though he had seen the invisible, and relied upon the promise, by firmly persisting in an invariable hope, without suffering himself to be enfeebled by any of the most pressing motives. The event justified his conduct. When the protection of God was manifested at last by the entire destruction of the army of the Assyrians, he, who the night before was looked upon by all as weak and senseless, became on a sudden, in the eyes of the same judges, the wisest man in the world, for having trusted in the Almighty. Thus it will always be, and whosoever shall put their trust in God, shall never be confounded.

VIII. *The DELIVERANCE of JERUSALEM the FIGURE of the CHURCH.*

The principal advantage to be drawn from this history, is to compare what here befel Jerusalem with what has befallen the church in all ages, to see its dangers, its remedies, and the promise of a certain victory over all its enemies. One verse of the forty-seventh psalm, which is undoubtedly prophetic, and respects this event, may assist us in making the comparison, *Walk about Sion, and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof.* 'Tis the prophet that speaks in the name of the prince and the heads of the people, who, after so sudden and miraculous a deliverance, exhorts the rest of the citizens to go round Jerusalem, within and without, to be witnesses themselves of the good condition of the fortifications. See, said they to them, whether the enemy has made so much as one single breach, if they have broke down one tower, or can boast of any advantage gained over the vigilance and strength

strength of him who is the protector of it. (n) "Cir-
" cumdatur Sion, et circuite eam; numerate turre
" ejus."

The Church, from its birth, has often been attacked, besieged on every side, and to all outward appearance ready to perish. But all its enemies have had the fate of Sennacherib; and after many fears and troubles, her faith has remained always pure, her doctrine has prevailed over all errors, her foundations have been unshaken, and she has never been found to have suffered any loss, or been obliged to give up any of her tenets, or to depart from the ancient tradition which serves her as a rampart against new enemies that continually succeed one another.

Thus it will be in all ages, and it will be an equal misfortune to attack the church, or to despair of God's protection of it, and to think it stands in need of human succour to defend it. All those, who thought thus of Jerusalem, perished; but the faith of those who waited for God's assistance, and did not doubt of his promises, saved them, and enriched them with the spoils of their enemies.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

PROPHECIES.

WE may distinguish prophecies into two sorts. Some are purely spiritual, and relate only to Jesus Christ and the church. Of this sort is the first and most ancient of all, when God, after Adam's fall, cursed the serpent, and declared, (x) that the seed of the woman should bruise his head, *i. e.* the Saviour

(n) So S. Jerome translates this verse.

(x) Gen. iii. 15.

Saviour of the world, who should one day come to destroy the power of the devil. Such also were those of (x) Jacob, who specifies the time of the Messiah's coming, and of (y) Daniel, who points out in a very particular manner, the express time of the Messiah's suffering, and the consequences of his death.

There are prophecies of another kind, which we may call historical, that foretel temporal events; and these are usually predictions and types of other events, which are more important and spiritual. We have seen several of this sort in the history of Sennacherib, whereof the prophet Isaiah had long before specified abundance of circumstances, which are not to be met with in the historical books. There is another very famous prediction in the same prophet, concerning the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, who is expressly mentioned by name two hundred years before he was born, and foretelling the deliverance of the people of the Jews. It is easily discernible, that these two great events, which include almost all the prophecies of Isaiah, the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem under king Hezekiah, and the conquest of Babylon, with the subsequent deliverance of the Jews in captivity there, were the figure and pledge of other events relating to religion.

One might refer to a third sort of prophecies, what I am now going to explain, whereof one part is purely historical, and the other purely spiritual. It is the famous prediction of Daniel, occasioned by the image made up of different metals. I chuse this in preference to the rest, as it particularly relates to a part of profane history, of which I shall soon treat.

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(x) Gen. xlix. 10.

(y) Dan. ix. 24, 27.

THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL.

Occasioned by the Statue of different Metals.

WHILST Daniel was very young, the King of Babylon had a mysterious dream, of which he lost the distinct idea, but however preserved a confused notion of it, that troubled him. He required therefore of the wise men of Babylon, that they should tell him what it was he had forgot, and withal give him the interpretation of it, under the penalty of being put to death, in case they failed. Daniel, who was included in the general order, with three young Hebrews, who were exposed to the same danger, had recourse to prayer, and learned (a) by divine revelation, what he could not know by any natural means, and (a) all the wise men of Babylon had agreed, was otherwise impossible to be known.

“Thou, O king, then, says Daniel to him, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof was terrible. This image’s head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brasse, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron or clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brasse, the silver and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.”

To this first revelation Daniel added the interpretation

(z) Dan. ii. 19, 28.

(a) Ver. 11.

tation of the dream. "Thou, O king, said he, art
"this head of gold; and after thee shall arise ano-
"ther kingdom inferior to thee, which shall be of
"silver; and another third kingdom of brass, which
"shall rule over the whole earth. And the fourth
"kingdom shall be strong as iron; and as iron
"breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things, shall it
"break in pieces and bruise." He then explains
what was meant by the feet being part of iron, and
part of clay, and thus goes on, "And in the days
"of these kings, shall the God of heaven set up a
"kingdom which shall not be destroyed; and the
"kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it
"shall break in pieces, and consume all these king-
"doms, and it shall stand for ever."

This prophecy of Daniel's has two parts, and may
be considered as historical and spiritual. In the first,
he plainly points out the four great monarchies; of
the Babylonians, where Nabuchodonosor actually
reigned; of the Medes and Persians; of the Greeks
and Macedonians; and of the Romans: and the ve-
ry order of their succession is a proof of it. In the
second, he describes the kingdom of Christ, or the
Church, in magnificent terms, which was to survive
to the ruin of all the rest, and to subsist to all eter-
nity.

A Christian master, in explaining these prophecies,
should be very careful to make youth sensible of the
evident proof they contain of the truth of their re-
ligion. From whence could Daniel learn this succe-
sion and order of different monarchies? [b] Who
could discover to him the change of empires, but he
who is Lord both of empires, and the terms of their
duration; who has fixed all things by his decrees,
and reveals the knowledge of them to whom he plea-
ses, by a supernatural light?

As

[b] He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth kings,
and setteth up kings; he revealeth the deep and secret things, and
the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 21, 22.]

As youth are also to be instructed in profane history, it will be expedient, upon occasion of the prophecy I have just mentioned, to make them observe, that the same prophet [c] has elsewhere described the four great monarchies, under the figure of four beasts; and to dwell some time upon another prediction, mentioned in the following chapter, relating to Alexander the Great, which is one of the clearest and most circumstantial in the whole scripture.

The prophet, [d] after having expressed the monarchies of the Persians and Macedonians under the figure of two beasts, [e] thus clearly explains himself: "The ram, which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia; and the rough goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king."

What can the most obstinate incredulity object to a prophecy so clear and evident as this? By what means did Daniel see that the empire of the Persians was to be destroyed by that of the Greeks, which was so absolutely improbable? How could he know the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he describes so beautifully, by saying, [f] that he touched not the earth? "non tangebatur terram." How could he know, [g] that Alexander would have no son to succeed him? that his empire would be divided into four principal kingdoms? that his successors would be of his own nation, and not of his kindred?

and

[c] Chap. vii.

[d] And behold a ram, which had two horns, and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other. . . . And behold an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. . . . And when he was come close to the ram, he was moved with choler against him . . . and cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him with his feet. Dan. viii 3. &c.

[e] Ver. 20, 21.

[f] Ver. 5.

[g] And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion. . . . and his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled. Dan. xi. 34.

Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Dan. viii. 22.

and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly raised, should be formed distinct estates in the east and west, the north and south?

In explaining this prophecy to youth, they must not forget to observe to them, what [h] Josephus the historian says upon the occasion of Alexander's entry into Jerusalem. This prince advanced towards the city, in great indignation against the Jews, who had declared in favour of Darius, and assisted him with their troops. The high priest Jaddus, in consequence of a revelation which had been made him, went in procession to meet Alexander, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the other priests in their proper vestments, and the Levites in white. As soon as Alexander saw him, he bowed down himself to the ground before him, and worshipped the God whose minister he was, and whose venerable name he bore on his forehead. And whilst all around him were astonished at so surprising a spectacle, the king declared, that the God of the Jews had appeared to him in Macedonia, in the same habit his high priest wore, had encouraged him to cross the Hellespont, and assured him he would march at the head of his army, and secure him the conquest of the Persian empire. Alexander, surrounded by the priests, entered Jerusalem, went up into the temple and offered sacrifices to God, in the manner the high priest directed. He then shewed him the book of Daniel, in which it was written, that a Grecian prince should destroy the empire of the Persians, which gave Alexander infinite satisfaction.

Though this were only a matter of bare curiosity, so agreeable and entertaining a piece of history, such evident and surprising prophecies, might well deserve to be related to youth. But how much may it turn to the service of religion, to make them observe the wonderful harmony and connection it has pleased

God

[h] Joseph. Hist. Jud. lib. 11. c. 8.

God to place between the different predictions of the prophets, whether some, as I have already taken notice, are of use to confirm the rest, and all together form a degree of evidence and conviction, to which nothing can be added? And with this reflection, I shall conclude this article concerning prophecies.

REFLECTIONS *upon the PROPHECIES.*

If the prophets had only foretold events at a distance, mankind must have waited long, before they could know whether they were prophets or no, and they could have had no authority during their lives.

If, on the other side, they had foretold only events that were nigh at hand, they might have been suspected of coming at the knowledge of them by natural means; and there might have seemed the less reason to believe, that they spoke by the Spirit of God.

And if there had been no connection betwixt the near and remote events, by the predictions which were to be accomplished during the interval; the distance between the two extremes, would have rendered their prophecies useless, the first being forgot, and the last not expected.

By the accomplishment of the first, the prophet acquired a just authority, and induced an expectation of the fulfilling of those that followed. These added to his authority an entire certainty, that his knowledge came from God, and that what was revealed with reference to the most distant times, would as infallibly come to pass, as what had been foretold concerning times that were nearer. The public monuments attested what was already fulfilled, the memory of it was handed down to the children; and these connecting what fell out in their days, with what had fallen out in the times of their fathers, left to their posterity a profound veneration for the prophets who had foretold it, and a firm confidence
that

that all that was contained in the rest of their predictions would as certainly be accomplished.

Thus their books have deservedly been looked upon as divinely inspired. The proof was certain, and suited to the capacity of all mankind. They gave credit to what was to come, from what they saw at present. They were persuaded the revelation came from God, because it was infallible, and passed all human understanding; and they would have made a quite contrary conclusion, if any of the events had not answered the prediction. "Hear now "this word that I speak in thine ears," (b) said the prophet Jeremiah to a man that pretended to be sent from God, "and in the ears of all the people. The "prophets, that have been before me and before "thee of old, prophesied both against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of "evil, and of pestilence. The prophet, which prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet "shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be "known, that the Lord hath truly sent him."

This then was their rule; a rule plain and easy, as capable of being applied, with certainty, by the common people, as persons of greater abilities, and wherein it was not possible for either to mistake.

The little time their ordinary studies leave youth, does not admit a great number of historical or prophetical facts to be explained to them in any great extent. But if a judicious choice was made of them, and they were put upon reading some every year, and these attended with reflections suited to their understandings, this small number, in my opinion, might very much contribute to inspire them with a great reverence for religion, give them a great taste for the holy scriptures, and teach them in what spirit, and with what principles they ought to read them when they shall have leisure.

Vol. III.

H

PART

(b) Jerem. xxviii. 7, 8, 9.

PART THE THIRD.

Of PROFANE HISTORY.

I SHALL follow the same order upon this head, as I have observed in treating sacred history; that is, I shall first lay down some principles, which may be useful to direct youth in the study of profane history; and afterwards apply them to some particular facts, by reflections annexed.

CHAP. I.

RULES and PRINCIPLES for the STUDY of PROFANE HISTORY.

THESE principles may be reduced to six or seven: To reduce this study to order and method: To observe what relates to usages and customs: To inquire particularly and above all things after the Truth: To endeavour to find out the causes of the rise and fall of empires, of the gaining or losing of battles, and events of the like nature: To study the character of the nations and great men mentioned in history: To be attentive to such instructions as concern moral excellency and the conduct of life: And, lastly, carefully to note every thing that relates to religion.

SECT. I.

ORDER and METHOD necessary for studying HISTORY to advantage.

One thing which may very much contribute to the bringing this study into order and method, is to divide the whole body of an history into certain parts and

and intervals, which at once present the mind a kind of general plan of the whole history, point out the principal events, and shew us the series and duration of them. These divisions must not be too many, lest they throw us into confusion and obscurity.

Thus the whole time of the Roman history, from Romulus to Augustus, which takes in seven hundred and twenty three years, may be divided into five parts.

An. U. C 1. The first is the reigns of the seven kings of Rome, which lasted two hundred and forty four years.

244. The second, is from the establishment of the consuls to the conquest of Rome, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the establishment of the consuls, the tribunes of the people, the decemvirs, the military tribunes with consular power, the siege and conquest of Veii.

364. The third, is from the sacking of Rome to the first Punic war and takes in an hundred and twenty four years. It concludes the conquest of Rome by the Gauls, the wars with the Samnites, and against Pyrrhus.

488. The fourth, is from the beginning of the first to the end of the third Punic war, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It concludes the first and second Punic wars, the wars against Philip king of Macedon, Antiochus king of Asia, Perseus the last king of Macedon, the Numantines in Spain; and lastly, the third Punic war, which ended with the conquest and destruction of Carthage.

608. The fifth, is from the destruction of Carthage to the change of the Roman republic into a monarchy under Augustus, and takes in an hundred and fifteen years. It includes the war of Achaia, and the destruction of Corinth; the domestic troubles raised by the Gracchi, the wars against Jugurtha, the Allies, and Mithridates; the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey, Anthony, and Octavius. This last war ended with the

battle of Actium, (U. C. 723.) and the sovereign authority of Octavius, who afterwards was surnamed Augustus.

I have already observed, in treating sacred history, the use we should make of chronology; and shall forbear to repeat what I have already said upon this subject.

Geography also is absolutely necessary for youth; and for want of learning it when they are young; abundance of persons continue ignorant of it all the rest of their lives, and expose themselves to mistakes upon this article, which make them ridiculous. One quarter of an hour regularly spent every day in this study, is enough to make them perfect in it. After the general principles are explained to them, they must never be suffered to pass by any considerable town, or any river mentioned in their authors, without shewing their places in the maps. They must learn likewise to point out the situation of every city, with reference to other places that are spoke of. Thus they will say, that Evreux lies west of Paris, Châlone upon Marne on the east, Amiens on the north, and Orleans on the south. They must trace the rivers, from their source to the place where they throw themselves into the sea, or some greater river, and point out the considerable towns that ly in their passage. when they are tolerably well instructed, they may be made to travel over a map, or be taught by word of mouth, by asking them, for instance, what rout they would take to go from Paris to Constantinople, and so of the other provinces. To render this study less dry and disagreeable, it would not be amiss to add to it certain short stories, which might serve to fix an idea of the towns more firmly in the minds of youth, and would teach them a great many curious matters as they went on. These are to be found in several geographical treatises, wrote in French; from which the masters may easily extract such as they shall judge most proper for youth.

S E C T.

S E C T II.

To observe what relates to the LAWS, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of COUNTRIES.

It is of no small consequence, whilst we are upon the study of history, to take notice of the different customs of countries, the invention of arts, the various manners of living, building, fighting, disposing of sieges, or defending towns, of building ships, and sailing; the ceremonies of their marriages, funerals, and sacrifices; in a word whatever relates to customs and antiquity. I shall have occasion to say more of this hereafter.

What I have hitherto taken notice of, is, if I may so say, but the skeleton of history; the observations I am going to make, are in a manner the soul of it, and contain the most useful part of this study.

S E C T. III.

Principally to inquire after TRUTH.

That in which the most essential quality and most indispensable duty of an historian consists, points out at the same time what should be the principal care of every reader of history. (q) No body is ignorant that an historian should, above all things, prescribe this rule to himself, To be free from all passion and prejudice; never to presume to advance any falsehoods, and have always courage to speak the truth. Negligences in his style may be passed over, but want of sincerity is inexcusable; (r) and herein lies the difference between an history and a poem.

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As:

(q) Quis nescit primam esse historię legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simulatio. Lib. 2. de orat. n. 62.

(r) Intelligo te, frater, alias in historia leges observandas putare, alias

As the principal end of a poem is to divert the reader, it necessarily shocks and offends him, if it wants art or elegance; whereas an history, however written, is always sure to give pleasure, if it is true, as it satisfies a desire natural to mankind, who are fond of knowing, and always curious to learn something new, but cannot bear to be put off with falsehoods instead of truth, or idle imaginations for real facts. Hence we see that historians, to gain credit with their readers, generally begin with professing an exact and scrupulous sincerity, equally exempt from love and hatred, hope and fear as may be particularly observed in Sallust and Tacitus.

Truth, therefore is to be sought for in history, before all things. Good writers justly endeavour to render it more agreeable, by the elegance and embellishments of language; and a judicious master will not fail to point out all the graces and beauties of an historian; but he will not suffer his scholars to be dazzled by a vain pomp of words, to prefer flowers to fruits, be less attentive to truth herself than her dress, and set a greater value upon the eloquence of an historian, than upon his exactness and fidelity in relating facts. Quintilian, in the character he draws of a Greek Historian, teaches us to distinguish thus in a few words. "The history of Clitarchus, says he, is valued for its style, and despised for its want of veracity." "Clitarchi probatur ingenium, fides infamatur."

We must therefore caution youth to be upon their guard when they read such histories as were written during the lives of the princes of whom they treat, as it seldom happens, that they are dictated only by truth, and that the desire of pleasing him who distributes fortunes and honours, has no share in them. The best

princes
alias in poemate: quippe cum illa ad veritatem cuncta referantur, in hæc ad delectationem pleraque. Cic. lib. 1. de leg. n. 4. et 5.

Orationi et carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia sit summa: historia quoque modo scripta delectat. Sunt enim homines natura curiosi, et qualibet nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur, ut qui sermunculis etiam fabellisque ducantur. Plin. cap. 8. lib. 5.

princes are not always insensible to flattery, and there is a secret thirst of praise and glory implanted in all mankind, that ought to render such histories suspected. But if flattery makes an historian contemptible, detraction must make him odious. Both (s) says Tacitus, are equally injurious to truth; but with this difference, we easily defend ourselves against the one, as it is hateful to all the world, and borders upon slavery; and we readily give way to the other, as it deceives us by a false image of liberty, and finds an agreeable admittance into the mind.

There are some historians, who, though very deserving in our respects, through the bad taste of the age they lived in, or too great credulity, have interspersed abundance of fables in their writings, as (t) Tully observes of Herodotus and Theopompus.

Such, for instance, is what he first reports of the birth of Cyrus, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. We excuse antiquity, (u) says Livy, for rather chosing to give us strange stories than true ones, and endeavouring to embellish and adorn the original of great towns and empires with such fictions as are more suitable to fable than history. But we must accustom youth, in reading such sort of authors, to distinguish between the true and false; and must also tell them, that reason and equity require that they should not reject all a writer says, because some things are false, nor believe all he relates without exception, because many things are true.

This love for truth, which ought to be inculcated as much as possible, may be of great service to preserve them from a bad taste, which was formerly very prevalent, I mean, that from romances and fabulous tales, which by degrees extinguish the love and taste of

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truth

(s) Veritas pluribus modis infracta . . . libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes . . . Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile adverteris: obrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi secundum crimen servitutis malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Tacit. Annl. lib. 1, cap. 1.

(s) Lib. 1. de leg. n. 5. (u) In præf. lib. 1.

truth, and make the mind incapable of attending to such useful and serious lectures, as speak more to the reason than the imagination.

It is the peculiar felicity of our age, that as soon as they were supplied, either with the translations of the famous writers of antiquity, or such modern works as merited their application, they presently abandoned all these fictions, and even rejected them with scorn; as being sensible, that nothing in reality could be a greater disgrace to human reason, which was intended to be [u] nourished with truth, than to feed upon the chimeras of an irregular imagination, and become the sport of it, by following it through all its extravagancies. And if at any time some works of this nature have been ventured into the public, to the glory of our times it may be said, that they have soon fallen into oblivion, neglected by all men of sense, and left to such frivolous people as could be so idly amused.

S E C T. IV.

To endeavour to find out the CAUSES of EVENTS.

[x] Polybius, who was as able at the pen as at the sword, and was not less a good writer than an excellent general, takes notice in several places that the best manner of writing and studying history, is not to stop at the bare recital of facts, the gaining or losing a battle, the rise or fall of empires; but to search into the reasons, and join together all the circumstances and consequences of them; to distinguish, if possible, the secret designs and hidden springs in each event; to go back to the original of things, and the most distant preparations; to distinguish the real causes of a war from the specious pretences with which it is covered, and especially to note what has decided

[u] *Natura inest mentibus nostris insatiabilis quædam cupiditas veri videndi, Tuse. quæst. lib. n. 44.*

Nihil est hominis menti veritatis luce dulcius, Acad. quæst. l. 4. n. 31.

[x] *Polyb. hist. lib. 3.*

decided the success of an enterprize, the fate of a battle, and the ruin of a state. Without this, (y) says he, history gives the reader an agreeable spectacle, but conveys no useful instruction; it serves to satisfy his curiosity for a moment, but is of no consequence in the conduct of life.

He observes that the war of the Romans in Asia, against Antiochus, was the consequence of that they had made before against Philip King of Macedon; that what gave occasion to this, was the good success of the second Punic war; of which the principal cause on the side of the Carthaginians, was the loss of Sicily and Sardinia: That therefore to form a just idea of the different events of those wars, they must not be considered separately and in parts, but viewed together, and their connections, consequences, and dependencies, well examined.

He observes in the same place, that it would be a gross mistake, to imagine that the conquest of Saguntum by Hannibal was the real cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for the too easy cession of Sicily by the treaty which concluded the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took an opportunity from the commotions in Afric, to dispossess the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and impose a new tribute upon them; and the successes and conquests of the latter in Spain, were the real causes of the rupture of this treaty; as Livy suggests in a few words, therein following the plan of Polybius, [z] at the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.

Polybius hence takes occasion to lay down a very useful principle for the study of history, which is to distinguish exactly three things, the beginnings, the causes, and the pretexts of a war. The beginnings are the first steps that are openly taken, and are the consequences of resolutions made in private; such

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was

(y) Ἀγώνισμα μὲν, μαθήματα δὲ ἐκ γίνεσθαι καὶ παναντοίγια μὲν τέρεται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἔδωκεν ὠφελεῖν τὸ παράπαν.

[z] Liv, lib. 21. p. 1.

was the siege of Saguntum. The causes are the different dispositions of men's minds, particular discontents, injuries received, and the hopes of success; such, in the fact we were speaking of, were the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, joined to the imposition of a new tribute, and the favourable opportunity of so able and experienced a general as Hannibal. The pretexts are only a veil thrown over the real causes.

He illustrates this principle still farther, by other examples. Can any one imagine, says he, that Alexander's irruption into Asia was the first cause of the war against the Persians? It was very far from it; and, to be convinced of this, we need only consider the long preparations that preceded this irruption, which was the beginning and declaration of the war, but not the cause of it. Two great events had given Philip cause to believe, that the power of the Persians, which was once so formidable, was tending to a declension; the glorious and triumphant return of the ten thousand Greeks, under the conduct of Xenophon, through the midst of the enemies armies and fortresses, whilst the victorious Artaxerxes did not dare to oppose the bold resolution they had taken, of marching in a body through his whole empire into their own country; and the generous undertaking of Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, who with an handful of men carried the war and terror into the heart of Asia minor, without finding any resistance, and stopt only in his conquest by the divisions of Greece. Philip comparing this negligence and supineness of the Persians with the activity and courage of his Macedonians, animated with the hope of glory, and the advantages he should certainly reap from the war, after having united in his favour, with incredible address, the opinions and suffrages of Greece, urged, as the pretext of his invasion, the ancient injuries the Greeks had received from the Persians, and laboured with indefatigable application in making preparations for the war, which his son Alexander, who succeed-

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ed to his projects as well as his kingdom, happily employed to put them in execution. The weakness and negligence of the Persians, therefore, were the real cause of the war; their former attempts upon the liberty of Greece the pretext, and Alexander's march into Asia the beginning of it.

In like manner he traces the apparent pretexts and real causes of the war between the Romans and Antiochus.

[a] Dionysius of Halicarnassus lays down the same principles with Polybius. He declares in several places, that if we should derive the advantage from history, which may reasonably be expected, and make it of use in the management of public affairs, our curiosity must not be confined to facts and events; but we must enquire into the reasons of them, study the means which made them succeed, enter into the views and designs of those that conducted them, carefully examine the success which God gave them, (remarkable words for a heathen author) and neglect none of the circumstances, which had any important share in the enterprizes in question.

Can any man of curiosity and understanding, (b) says he in another place, be satisfied with knowing, that in the war with Persia, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians gained three victories, two by sea, and a third by land, and, with an army of about an hundred and ten thousand men at most, conquered the king of Persia, at the head of above three hundred thousand? Will he not also desire to know the places where these battles were fought, the causes which made the victory incline to the side of the lesser number, and produced so surprising an event; the names and characters of the principal officers who distinguished themselves on both sides; in a word, all the memorable circumstances and consequences of so considerable an action? For, adds he, it is a great pleasure to a man of sense and judgment, who reads an history written in this manner, to be led as it were by the hand, from the first

[a] Dion. Halicarn. lib. 4. *Antiq. Roman.*

[b] Lib. 11. *Antiq. Roman.*

first entrance upon every action to the conclusion of it ; and instead of being a bare reader, to become in a manner the witness and spectator of all that is told.

M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, [c] observes likewise, in his discourse upon universal history, that we must not only consider the rise and fall of empires, but must always examine thoroughly the causes of their progress, and the reasons of their declension. “ For, “ says he, the same God, who has hung the world “ together, as it were, upon chains, and, almighty as “ he is, hath thought fit, for the establishment of “ order, that the several parts of this great whole “ should depend upon one another ; the same God “ has been pleased, so to direct the course of human “ affairs, as to have their dependencies and proportions. I mean, that men and nations have had “ qualities suited to the elevation for which they “ were designed ; and, except in some extraordinary “ cases, wherein God thought fit that only his own “ hand should appear, there have happened no great “ alterations, which have not had their causes in the “ preceding ages. And as in all affairs there is “ something that makes way for them, and determines to the undertaking of them, and makes “ them succeed, the true knowledge of history is, to “ observe at all times the secret dispositions which “ made way for great changes, and the important “ conjectures which brought them to pass. In “ short, it is not enough to see only what is before “ our eyes, I mean, to take a present view of the “ great events which in an instant determine the “ fate of empires ; whoever should thoroughly understand human affairs, must go farther back, “ and observe the prevailing inclinations and manners, or, to say all in a word, the character both “ of the people in general, and of princes in particular ; and, lastly, of all the extraordinary persons, “ who, through the importance of the station they “ bore

“ bore in the world, have contributed well or ill to
“ the revolutions of states, and fortune of the public.”

This last reflection naturally leads us to what I have said we must in the fifth place take notice of in studying history.

S E C T. V.

To study the CHARACTER of the PEOPLE and Great MEN mentioned in HISTORY.

For what regards the character of nations, I cannot do better than refer the reader to the remarks M. Bossuet has made upon that subject, in the second part of his discourse upon universal history. That work is one of the most admirable performances that has appeared in our age, not only for the beauty and sublimity of stile, but still more for the greatness of the topics, the solidity of the reflections, the profound knowledge of mankind, and its large extent, as it takes in all ages and all empires. We see there, with infinite pleasure, all the nations and people of the world pass in a kind of review before our eyes, with their good and evil dispositions, their manners, customs, and different inclinations; Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Medes, Greeks, and Romans. We there see all the kingdoms of the world rising as it were out of the earth, gradually growing powerful by almost an insensible increase, extending at last their conquests on every side, arriving by different means at the height of human greatness, and falling at once from that height by sudden revolutions, and lost, as I may say, and sunk into that nothing from whence they sprung. But what is still more worthy our attention, we find in the manners themselves of the several nations, in their characters, virtues and vices, the causes of their grandeur and destruction. We learn there, not only to discover the secret and hidden source of human politics, which give motion to all actions and enterprizes,
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but to discern withal a sovereign Being, watching and presiding over all, directing and conducting every event, and disposing, and absolutely deciding, the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world. I cannot therefore too much exhort those, who are entrusted with the education of youth, to read and study this excellent book with attention, which is so capable of forming at once, both the understanding and the heart; and, after they have studied it well themselves, to endeavour to inspire their pupils with a taste for it.

What I have said of nations, may also be understood of the great and illustrious men, who have been distinguished for the good or ill they have wrought in states. We must diligently apply ourselves to study their genius, natural inclinations, virtues and faults, particular and personal qualifications, in a word, that peculiar turn of mind, and course of conduct that prevails in them, and forms their character; for that is properly to know them. Otherwise, we see only the surface and outside of them; and men are not to be known and judged only by their dress and countenance.

Neither must we expect to know them principally from such of their actions, as make the most glorious figure. When they set themselves up to public view, they may dissemble, and ly under a restraint, by assuming, for a time, the visage and mask, which suits best with the character they are to support. They shew themselves what they are, in private, in the closet, and at home, when they are unreserved, and without disguise. 'Tis there they act and talk, as nature dictates. It is in this manner we should chiefly study great men, if we would pass a right judgment upon them; and it is the inestimable advantage we find in Plutarch, and that wherein he may be said to excel all other historians. In the lives he has left us of the illustrious men among the Greeks and Romans, he descends to particulars, which give us in-

infinite pleasure. He is not satisfied with shewing us the general, the conqueror, the statesman, the magistrate or the orator; he lays open the inside of the house to his readers, or rather the heart of the person he speaks of, and lets us see in them the father, the husband, the master, and the friend. We seem to live and discourse with them, to share in their amusements and diversions, to assist at their meals and in their conversations. (d) Tully says somewhere, that he could not take one step in Athens, and the neighbouring places, without meeting with some ancient monument of history, which awakened the remembrance of the great men who formerly lived there, and in some measure set them before his eyes. Here was a garden, where the footsteps of Plato seemed still to remain; here he used to walk, and discourse of the gravest points in philosophy: There was the place of the public assemblies, where *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* seem still to plead against each other; and one would imagine the voice of the Greek orator was still to be heard on the shore, where he learned to overcome the tumultuous noise of public meetings by surmounting that of the waves. The reading the lives of *Plutarch*, seems, in my opinion, to produce a like effect, by rendering the great men he speaks of in a manner present, and giving us as lively an idea of their customs and manners, as if we had lived and conversed with them. We know more of the genius, spirit, and character of *Alexander*, from *Plutarch's* very short abridgment of it, than from the very long and particular histories of *Quintus Curtius* and *Arrian*.

The great knowledge of the characters of great men makes an essential part of history; and it is for this reason that good historians are usually careful

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(d) Quacunque ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium posuimus. Usu autem evenit, acrius aliquanto et attentius de claris viris, locorum admonitu cogitemus . . . velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem accepimus primum hic (in academia) disputare solitum: cujus etiam illi hortuli propinqui non memoriam solum mihi afferunt, sed ipsum videntur in conspectu meo hic ponere, &c. Lib. 5. de finib, n. 4, &c.

to give an express and general idea of the good or ill qualities of the principal persons they speak of. Of this kind are the characters of Catiline, Marius, and Sylla, in Sallust; of Furius Camillus, Hannibal, and a great many others in Livy.

'Tis by studying attentively the prevailing dispositions, both of nations in general, and their commanders in particular, that we are able to form a judgment of their designs, actions, and enterprizes, and may even foretel the consequence. Philopemen, an officer of excellent understanding, observing on the one hand, the carelessness and negligence of Antiochus, who was amusing himself at feasts and weddings, and, on the other, the diligence, and indefatigable activity of the Romans, made no difficulty in foretelling on which side the victory would fall. Polybius is very careful, by the wise reflections he makes in several parts of his history, to excite the attention of the reader to take notice of the personal qualifications of the great men he writes of, and to observe, that the Roman conquests were the effects of schemes concerted at a distance, and conducted by such means, as, with the abilities of their generals, could scarce possibly fail of success. 'Twas from this profound study of the genius and character of mankind, from a thorough inquiry into the nature and constitution of the different kinds of government, and the natural causes which in course of time change the form of them; and lastly, by serious reflections upon the present state of affairs, and disposition of mens minds, that the same historian in the sixth book of his history, has carried the sagacity and conjectures of his foresight so far, as to declare, that sooner or later the republic of Rome would again be changed into a monarchical government. When I come to speak of the Roman history, I shall give an extract and summary of this passage of Polybius, which is one of the most curious and remarkable in all antiquity.

S E C T. VI.

*To observe in HISTORY what relates to MORALITY
and the CONDUCT of LIFE.*

The observations I have already mentioned, are not the only ones to be made, nor the most essential; such as relate to the regulation of manners, are still more important. "The greatest advantage," says Livy in his excellent preface, "arising from the knowledge of history, is, that you may see there, examples of every kind set in the earliest light. You have patterns for your imitation, both in your own private conduct, and in the administration of public affairs; you find there also such actions as flow from corrupt principles, are fatal in their event, and for that reason ought to be avoided." 'Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri : inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitare, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.'

The case is near the same with the study of history, as with travelling. [e] If it is confined barely to the passing over countries, the visiting of cities, the examining the beauty and magnificence of the buildings and public monuments, where is the mighty advantage attending it? Does it make a man wiser, more regular, or temperate? Does it remove his prejudices, or correct his errors? The novelty and variety of these objects may amuse him for a time, like a child, and he may gaze upon them with a stupid admiration: But if this is all, it is not to travel, but wander, and to lose both his time and trouble. 'Non est hoc peregrinari, sed errare. 'Tis said of Ulysses, that he visited abundance of cities; but not till after

[e] Senec. Epist. 410.

after it had been observed, that he applied himself to study the manners and genius of the people.

‘[f] Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.’

The ancients made long and frequent voyages; but it was with a view to instruct, to visit mankind, and improve from their wisdom and knowledge.

Such is the use we ought to make of history. We stand in need of instructions and examples, to induce us to the practice of virtue amidst the dangers and obstacles which surround it; and history supplies us with these of every kind. ’Tis thence the sentiments of honour and probity are derived; [g] ‘Hinc mihi ille *‘justitiæ haustus bibat.’* We must carefully study the actions and speeches of the great men of antiquity, and make it our business seriously to digest them.

[h] When Tully endeavours to incline his brother Quintus to kindness and moderation, he put him in mind of what he had read in Xenophon concerning Cyrus and Agesilaus. [i] He tells us it was the use he himself made of what he had read in his youth, and history had taught him to suffer the utmost extremities, and despise all dangers for the service of his country. “How many models of virtue, says he, “are left us by the Greek and Latin writers, which “are not laid before us only to be looked on, but to “be imitated? And by studying them incessantly, “and endeavouring to copy after them in the management of public affairs, have I formed my “mind and heart, upon the idea of those great men, “whose pictures are so admirably drawn in their “writings.” *‘Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuemdum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas, scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt? quas ego mihi semper in administrandâ re-
publicâ*

[f] Horat. de Arte Poet.

[g] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 2.

[h] Epist. 2. ad Quint.

[i] Pro Arch. Poet n. 14.

publicâ proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsâ cogitatione hominum excellentium confirmabam!"

We must, therefore, in teaching youth history, be very careful to make them derive from it one of its principal advantages, which is the regulation of their manners; and to this end we must from time to time introduce short reflections; ask them their own judgment upon the actions they read; accustom them especially not to suffer themselves to be dazzled by a vain outward shew, but to judge universally, according to the principles of equity, truth, and justice; and raise in them an admiration for the modesty, frugality, generosity, disinterestedness, and love for the public good, which prevailed in the happy times of the Greek and Roman republics. When youth are thus timely modelled, and accustomed from their infancy, by the study of history, to admire examples of virtue, and abhor vice, we may hope that these early seeds, assisted by a superior aid, without which they would soon miscarry, may in due time bring forth good fruit; and that something might happen to them like what is told of a scholar of Plato's, whom the philosopher had trained up with great care in his own house. When he returned home, and saw his father break out into a violent transport of passion, he stood in amaze, "I never saw any thing like this, says he, "at Plato's." 'Apud Platonem educatus puer, cum ad parentes relatus vociferantem videret patrem: Nunquam, inquit, hoc apud Platonem vidi.'

S E C T. VII.

Carefully to observe every THING that relates to RELIGION.

I have one observation more to make upon the study of history, which consists in carefully observing whatever relates to religion, and the great truths which are necessarily dependent upon it. For amidst the confused chaos of ridiculous opinions, absurd

ceremonies, impious sacrifices, and detestable principles, which idolatry, the daughter and mother of ignorance and corruption of heart, has brought forth, to the reproach of human reason and understanding, there are still to be discerned some precious remains of almost all the fundamental truths of our holy religion. We find in it particularly the existence of a Being supreme in power, and supremely just, the absolute Lord of kings and kingdoms, whose providence rules all the events of this life, whose justice prepares for the next the rewards and chastisements that are due to the righteous and the wicked; and lastly, whose all-piercing eye sees into the inmost recesses of our souls, and fills them with trouble and confusion, whether we will or no. But as I have already treated of this subject more at large in the preliminary discourse prefixed to the first volume, I shall dwell no longer upon it here.

These, in my opinion, are the principal observations youth should be directed to make, whilst they are studying history, taking care at the same time to proportion them to their age and capacity, and never proposing any reflections to them they are not capable of comprehending. I shall now proceed to apply these general principles to particular examples, in the clearest and most intelligible manner in my power.

C H A P. II.

The APPLICATION of the foregoing RULES to some particular Facts in HISTORY.

IN making the application of the principles I have here laid down, I shall select, first from the history of the Persians and Greeks, and then from that of the Romans, certain portions and particular facts, to which I shall add some reflections.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the HISTORY of the PERSIANS and GREEKS.

THE first piece taken from the history of the Persians.

C Y R U S.

I shall divide what I have to say concerning Cyrus, into three parts; his education; his first expeditions; the taking of Babylon, and his last conquests. I shall relate only the most important circumstances of these events, and such as appear to me most proper for the instruction of youth. These I shall extract from Xenophon, whom I take here for my guide, as the author most worthy of credit upon this article.

I. *The EDUCATION of CYRUS.* Cyrop. lib. I.

Cyrus was the son of Cambyfes king of Persia, and Mandane the daughter of Astyages king of the Medes. (k) He was beautiful in his person, but far more estimable for the excellent endowments of his mind. He was exceeding courteous and humane, desirous of learning, and ardent for glory. He never feared any danger, nor shunned any labour, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up after the custom of the Persians, which at that time was admirable.

The public good, and general utility was the principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was considered as the most important duty and essential part of the government. The care of it was not entrusted to fathers and mothers, whom a blind and tender indulgence often rendered incapable of it; the state charged itself with it. They were brought

(k) Εἶδος μὲν καλλίστος ψυχὴν δὲ φιλαθρηπύτατος, φιλομαθής, καὶ φιλοτιμώτατος.

brought up together, and in the same manner. They did nothing but by rule; the place and duration of their exercises were fixed, the time of their meals, the quantity of what they were to eat and drink, the number of their masters, and the different kinds of correction. Their whole food, as well for children as young men, was bread, and cresses, and water; for their view was, to habituate them early to temperance and sobriety; and besides, this sort of simple and frugal food, without any mixture of sauces and ragouts, strengthened their bodies, and laid a foundation of health capable of supporting the severest fatigues of war till they grew old, [d] as is observed of Cyrus, who found himself as strong and robust in his old age, as he was in his youth. They learned justice in schools, as in other places they do literature; and ingratitude was the crime they punished most severely.

The view of the Persians in all these wise institutions was to be beforehand with evil, as they were persuaded that it was better to prevent faults, than punish them; and whereas in other nations they were contented with inflicting punishments upon criminals, the Persians endeavoured in a manner to hinder there being any criminals amongst them.

They continued in the class of children till they were sixteen or seventeen years old; they then entered the class of youths. They were then laid under the greatest restraints, as that age stood most in need of them. They spent ten years in this class, During this interval, they were every night upon guard, as well for the security of the city, as to enure them to fatigue. In the day-time they went to receive orders from their governors, attended the king when he went a-hunting, or applied themselves to their exercises.

The third class was formed of men grown, and there they continued five and twenty years. From
hence

[d] Cyrus non fuit imbecillior in senectute, quam in juventute.
Cic. de senect. n. 30.

hence were taken all the officers, that were to command in the troops, and fill the different posts, employments, and dignities of the state. And hence they passed into the last class, from whence the wisest and most experienced were chosen to form the public council.

By these means, every citizen might aspire to the first offices of the state; but none could arrive at them, till they had passed through these different classes, and became capable of them by all these exercises.

Cyrus was brought up in this manner till he was twelve years old, and always excelled his equals, both in facility of learning, in courage, and dexterity in executing whatever he undertook. His mother Mandane then carried him into Media to visit his grandfather Astyages, who had heard so much of the fame of this young prince, that he was very desirous of seeing him. He found the manners of the Median court very different from those of his own country. Pomp, luxury, and magnificence universally prevailed. He was not at all dazzled with it, and, without criticising, or condemning it, he stood firm to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his wit and vivacity, and gained all hearts by his noble and engaging carriage, of which I shall relate a single instance, from which we may form a judgment of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson think no more of returning into his own country, prepared a sumptuous entertainment, in which he spared for no expence, either as to the quantity, or the quality and delicacy of meats. Cyrus looked upon all these preparations with a great deal of indifference. And as Astyages seemed very much surprized at it; The Persians, says he, instead of so many turnings and windings to satisfy their hunger, take a much shorter way to the same end; a little bread and cresses will do it at any time. His grandfather giving him leave to dispose of the dishes that were served up as he thought

thought fit, he distributed them immediately among such of the king's officers as were present; to one he gave, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he served Aftyages well; to a third, because he was very careful of his mother. Sacas, Aftyages's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides his place of cup-bearer, had the post of introducing such as were to have the audience of the king; and as it was not possible for him to grant this favour to Cyrus as often as he required it, he had the misfortune to displease the young prince, who expressed his resentment upon this occasion. Aftyages seemed uneasy that he had offered this affront to an officer, for whom he had a particular esteem, and who deserved it for his wonderful address in discharging his office; "And is that enough, papa, answers Cyrus, "to merit your favour? then I should soon have obtained it, for I'll answer for it I can serve you better than he." The little Cyrus was immediately equipped in the habit of a cup-bearer. He advances gravely with a serious air, and a napkin thrown over his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely on three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and grace, that charmed Aftyages and Mandane. When this was done, he threw his arms around his grandfather's neck, and, kissing him, cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, "poor Sacas, thou art undone, I shall have thy place!" Aftyages was mightily pleased with him; "And well, "says he, my boy, thou shalt have it; nobody can "serve me better. But you have forgot one part of the "ceremony, which is, to taste of it before you give "it." It was, it seems, the custom for the cup-bearer to pour out a little of the liquor into his left hand, and taste it, before he presented the cup to the king. "Twas not through forgetfulness, answered "Cyrus, that I did not do so." "What then, says "Aftyages?" "Twas because I apprehended the liquor to be poison," "Poison! how so?" "Yes indeed, papa; for it is not long since I took notice, at "an entertainment you gave the lords of your court, "that

“ that after they had drank a little of that liquor all
“ their heads were turned. They bawled and sung,
“ and talked like madmen. You yourself seemed to
“ have forgot that you were king, and they that they
“ were your subjects. At last, when you got up to
“ dance, you could not stand without staggering.”
“ How, replies Aftyages, does not the same thing
“ happen to your father ?” Never, answered Cyrus.”
“ How then ?” “ Why, when he has drank, he is no
“ longer thirsty, and that’s all.”

His mother Mandane being upon the point of returning into Persia, he chearfully complied with the repeated instance of his grandfather to continue in Media, because he said as he did not ride well enough yet, he might have time to perfect himself in that exercise, which was not practised in Persia, the dryness of the soil and mountainous situation of the country, not admitting the breeding of horses.

During this interval that he passed at court, he gained the esteem and love of all mankind. He was mild, affable, obliging, good natured, and liberal. If the young lords had any favour to beg of the king, he solicited it for them. If there was any cause of complaint against them, he was their mediator with the king. He made their business his own, and managed so well, that he always obtained what he desired.

Cambyfes recalling Cyrus to complete the time allotted for the finishing of his exercises in Persia, he immediately set forward on his journey, that his delay might neither give his father nor his country any cause to complain of him. It then appeared how tenderly he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all the world, those of his own age, young men and old, all attended him. Aftyages went with him on horseback a considerable way; and when he was obliged to take his leave, the whole company broke out into tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into Persia, where he continued one year more in the class of children. His companions expected to find a great alteration in his manners, after having spent so much time in so voluptuous and splendid a court as that of Media. But when they saw he was content with their ordinary table, and upon days of feasting was more sober and reserved than any of them, they looked upon him with new admiration.

He passed from this first class into the second, which is that of the young men; where he shewed that he had not his equal in address, patience and obedience.

REFLECTIONS.

I shall not attempt to make any reflections upon the preceding story; they offer themselves in abundance to the reader, and cannot escape the view of the most dim-sighted. We see here how much a masculine, robust, and vigorous education contributes at the same time to strengthen the body, and enlarge the mind; and that the best means for young gentlemen of quality to acquire esteem and affection, is not by assuming airs of grandeur, but by a civil and obliging deportment. I cannot but take notice how artfully the historian has introduced the excellent lecture he has given against drunkenness. He might have done it in a grave and serious manner, and with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, as much a soldier as he was, was no less a philosopher than Socrates his master. Instead of this he puts it into the mouth of a child, and disguises it under the veil of a little story, told in the original with all the spirit and pretiness imaginable. I don't doubt, but it is wholly his own invention; and it is in this sense, in my opinion, we should understand what (h) Tully says of this admirable work; that the author has not pretended to follow

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(h) *Ad Qu. Fratr. lib. 1. Ep. 1.*

the strict rules of truth and history, but designed to give princes, in the person of Cyrus, a perfect model of the manner, in which they ought to govern their subjects. 'Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad fidem historiarum scriptus, sed ad effigiem justì imperii.' That is, he has added to the substance of the history, which is very true in itself, as I shall soon have occasion to observe, some particular circumstances, to exalt its beauty, and serve for the instruction of mankind. Such is, in my opinion, the history of the little Cyrus, turned cup-bearer, which shews how dishonourable drunkenness is to princes, far better than all the precepts of philosophers.

II. *The first EXPEDITIONS and CONQUESTS of CYRUS.* Cyrop. lib. i. &c.

Astyages king of the Medes being dead his son Cyaxares, brother to Mandane, the mother of Cyrus, succeeded him. He was scarce settled upon the throne before he found himself engaged in a terrible war. He received advice that the king of the Assyrians was rising a powerful army against him, that he had already drawn over several other princes to espouse his quarrel, and, among the rest, Cræsus king of Lydia. He immediately dispatched an embassy to Cambyfes, to demand his assistance, with orders, to desire that Cyrus might have the command of the army that should be sent to his aid. They obtained their request without much difficulty. The young prince was then in the class of men grown, after having passed ten years in the second. The joy was universal; when it was known that Cyrus was marching at the head of the army. It consisted of thirty thousand foot, for the Persians had then no horse; besides a thousand young officers, the choice of the nation, who marched as volunteers, from a particular attachment they had to the person of Cyrus.

He set forward, without losing any time, but not till after he had invoked the assistance of the gods.

For his great principle, which he learned from his father, was never to enter upon any action, whether great or small, without first consulting the gods. Cambyfes had often represented to him, that human prudence was very short sighted, and the views of men confined within narrow bounds; that they could not penetrate into futurity, and what they often thought was most for their advantage, became the cause of their destruction; whereas the gods being eternal, knowing all things, the future as well as the past, and (m) inspire these they love, with what is most proper for them to undertake; a protection they owe to none and grant only to such as call upon them, and consult them.

Cambyfes was pleased to accompany his son as far as the frontiers of Persia. By the way, he gave him excellent instructions upon the duties of the general of an army. I have already observed, in another place, that Cyrus, who thought he was a perfect master in the trade of war, after having studied it so long, under the most experienced officers of his time, owned then that he was absolutely ignorant of the most essential part of the art military, till he had learned it from his familiar discourses, which deserves to be carefully read, and seriously considered by all persons designed for the profession of arms. I shall mention but one instance, from whence we may judge of the rest.

The point was how to make the soldiers submissive and obedient. The easiest and surest method, in my opinion, says Cyrus, is to commend and reward the obedient. That's right says Cambyfes, if you would bring them to it by force; but the business is, how to make them submit voluntarily. Now the surest way of succeeding herein, is to convince those over whom we command, that we know better what

(m) They imputed every branch of their success to divine Providence, even what they caught in hunting. *Venatio nobis hæc amici,* says Cyrus, *volente Deo prospera futura est.* Cyrop. lib. 2.

is fit for them, than they do themselves; for all mankind will readily obey those, of whom they have this opinion. From this principle arises the blind submission, which the sick pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and sea-faring men to their pilot. Their obedience is wholly founded upon a persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, know more of the matter than themselves. But what must we do, says Cyrus again to his father, to appear more able and prudent than others? By being really so, replies Cambyfes; and to this end, applying diligently to our profession, seriously studying all the rules of it, consulting the ablest masters with docility and care, neglecting nothing which may make our enterprizes succeed; and, above all, imploring the assistance of the gods, who alone give prudence and success.

When Cyrus was arrived in Media, and with Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the troops on both sides. He found, by the list that was given in, that the enemies army amounted to sixty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot; and consequently that their horse were two-thirds more than those of the Medes and Persians together, and that the latter had scarce half their foot. So great an inequality threw Cyaxares into great terror and confusion. He could not think of any other expedient, than the drawing fresh troops out of Persia, and in greater number than before. But besides that this remedy could have been very slow, it seemed impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed a surer and shorter method; and this was, to change the arms of the Persians, and as most of them used only the bow and the javelin, and consequently fought only at a distance, in which way of fighting, the greater number easily carried it over the smaller, he thought it adviseable to arm them in such a manner, that they might come immediately to close fight with the enemy, and thereby

by render the multitude of their troops unserviceable. This advice was approved, and put in execution immediately.

One day as Cyrus was making a review of his army, a courier came to him from Cyaxares, with advice that ambassadors were just arrived from the king of the Indies; and therefore he desired he would come presently to him. And for this reason, says he, I have brought you a rich vestment; for the king desires you would be magnificently dressed in presence of the Indians, for the honour of the nation. Cyrus lost no time, but set forward immediately with his troops to attend upon the king, (n) without putting on any other habit than his own; and as Cyaxares at first seemed somewhat displeased at it, Should I have done you more honour, replies Cyrus, by cloathing myself in purple, and putting on a load of bracelets and gold chains, if with all this I had tarried longer before I came, than I now do you by the sweat of my brows and my diligence in letting all the world see, with what readiness your orders are executed?

Cyrus's great care, was, to engage the affection of the troops, to gain the inclination of the officers, and acquire the love and esteem of the soldiers. To this end, he treated them all with gentleness and good-nature, made himself popular and affable, invited them often to dine with him, and especially those who were distinguished among the troops. He valued money only for the sake of distributing it. He gave presents liberally to every one according to his merit and condition; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of a like nature. He thought a general was to distinguish himself by his greatness of soul, his generosity, and inclination to do good; and not by luxury in eating, or magnificence in dress and equipage, and still less by haughtiness and pride.

Observing all his troops full of ardour and courage, he proposed to Cyaxares to lead them against the

(n) *Εν τῇ Περσικῇ σολῇ ἔδεν τι ὑβρισμένη.* A beautiful expression! Persicâ veste indutus, ornatu alieno minime contaminata.

the enemy. They therefore began their march, after they had offered sacrifices to the gods. When the armies were in sight of each other, they prepared for the battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open plain; Cyrus on the other hand, was covered by some villages, and small eminences. They spent some days in looking upon one another. At last the Assyrians came first out of their camp, in very great numbers, and Cyrus advanced with his troops. Before they came within a bow shot, he gave the word of command, which was *Jupiter the helper and conductor*. He caused the usual hymn to be sung in honour of Castor and Pollux; and the soldiers, full of religious ardour (θεοσεβες), made the responses with a loud voice. (o) In the whole army of Cyrus, nothing was to be discerned but chearfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations, prudence, and obedience, which cast a strange terror into the hearts of the enemies. For says the historian here, it was observed, that those who most feared the gods upon these occasions, were the least afraid of men. The Assyrian archers, slingers, and darters of javelins, made their discharges before the enemy was within reach. But the Persians, encouraged by the presence and example of Cyrus, came at once to a close engagement, and broke the first battalions. The Assyrians could not sustain so rude a shock, and took all to their heels. The Median horse moved forward at the same time, to fall upon that of the enemy, who were also soon routed. They were briskly pursued, as far as their camp. The slaughter was terrible, and the Assyrian king lost his life in the field. Cyrus did not think himself in a condition to force them in their entrenchments, and founded a retreat.

The Assyrians in the mean while, their king slain, and the bravest men in the army lost, were in a

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strange

(o) Ἦν δὲ μέγαν τὸ κράτευμα τῶν Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ῥώμης, θρεσσε, παρακλυσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς. . . ἐν τριούτῳ γὰρ οἱ δισιδαίμονες ἤτλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται.

strange consternation. Crœsus, and the other allies, lost also all hope ; So that they had no thoughts but of escaping by night.

Cyrus had rightly foreseen it, and prepared for a vigorous pursuit. But this was not to be done without horse, and the Persians we have already observed had none. He went therefore to Cyaxares and told him of his design. Cyaxares very much disapproved it, and represented to him the danger there was in driving so powerful an enemy to extremes, who might perhaps be inspired with courage by being driven to despair ; that it was prudent to use good fortune with moderation, and not to lose the fruit of a victory by too much eagerness ; that besides, he was unwilling to compel the Medes or prevent them from taking the repose they had so justly deserved. Cyrus at last desired leave only to carry such with him as were willing to follow him, and got the consent of Cyaxares with great difficulty, who had no thought but of passing his time in feasting and rejoicing with his officers, for the victory he had so lately gained.

Almost all the Medes followed Cyrus, who began his march in pursuit of the enemy. He met in his way couriers from the Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to tell him that as soon as he appeared, they were ready to submit to him, and in reality they did so. He lost no time, but, marching all night, came up with the Assyrians. Crœsus had sent his wives before, in the cool of the evening, for it was then summer, and was following after them with some horse. The Assyrians were in the utmost consternation, when they saw the enemy at their heels. Many of them were killed in the flight ; all that were left in the camp surrendered ; the victory was complete, and the booty immense. Cyrus kept to himself all the horses that were found in the camp, designing from that time to form a body of Persian horse, which till then they had not. Every thing of the greatest value he set apart for Cyaxares. When the

the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, he made them partake of a repast he had prepared for them, bidding them send only some bread to the Persians, who had every thing else that was necessary for them, both as to delicacy and drink. Their fauce was hunger, and their drink the water from the river. This was the manner of living, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

Cyaxares had passed the night, that Cyrus spent in pursuit of the enemy, in joy and feasting, and had got drunk with his principal officers. When he awoke the next morning, he was strangely surprized to see himself left almost alone. Full of rage and indignation, he immediately dispatched a messenger to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus, and make the Medes return directly. Cyrus was under no concern at so unjust a command. He wrote back a respectful letter, but with a generous freedom, in which he justified his conduct, and reminded him of the leave he had granted to all the Medes that were willing to follow him. He sent at the same time into Persia for fresh troops, designing to extend his conquests still farther.

Among the prisoners of war was a young princess of exquisite beauty, reserved for Cyrus. She was named Panthea, and was wife to Abradates king of Susiana. Upon the report of her beauty, Cyrus refused to see her, apprehending, as he said, lest such an object should engage his affection too much, and divert him from the great designs he had formed. Araspes, a young Median lord in whose custody she had been, did not suspect his own weakness so much, and affirmed that a man was always master of himself. Cyrus gave him prudent advice, and put the princess again into his hands. Fear not, replies Araspes, I am secure of myself, and will lay my life on't, that I do nothing contrary to my duty. However, his passion for the princess increased by little and little to such a degree, that, finding her

invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of offering her violence. The princess made her complaints to Cyrus, who presently sent Artabazus to expostulate in his name with Araspes. This officer chid him with the utmost severity, and set his fault before him in such a light, as almost threw him into despair. Araspes, overwhelmed with grief, could not refrain from tears, and was struck dumb with shame and terror. Some days after, Cyrus sent for him; and he came, all trembling and disordered. Cyrus took him aside, and instead of the violent reproaches he expected, spoke to him with the utmost mildness, owning that he had been to blame for imprudently shutting him up with so formidable an enemy. Such unexpected goodness gave life to the young lord. His confusion, joy, and gratitude, drew tears from his eyes in abundance. It is now, says he, that I begin to know myself, and sensibly to prove that I have two souls, one that inclines me to do well, and the other that urges me to mischief. The first is always superior, when you are by to assist me, and are talking with me; and I yield to the other, and am overcome, when I am alone by myself. He made ample amends afterwards for his fault, and did Cyrus a considerable service, by retreating as a spy to the Assyrians, under the pretext of a pretended discontent.

Cyrus, in the mean time, prepared to advance into the enemy's country. None of the Medes would quit him, nor return without him to Cyaxares, whose rage and cruelty they apprehended. The army began their march. The good treatment Cyrus had given the prisoners of war, by sending them all back free into their own country, had spread a general rumour of his clemency. Many of the people submitted to him, and increased the number of his troops. When he drew nigh to Babylon, he sent a challenge to the king of Assyria, offering to decide the quarrel by a single combat. But this challenge
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was not accepted. However, for the security of his allies during his absence, he entered into a kind of truce and treaty with him, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be disturbed, but have full liberty to till the ground. And thus, after he had taken a view of the country, examined the situation of Babylon, and enlarged the number of his friends and allies, he returned towards Media.

When he drew near the frontiers, he sent deputies to Cyaxares, to give him notice of his arrival, and to receive his orders. Cyaxares did not think it advisable to admit so considerable an army into his country, which was besides to be augmented by the addition of forty thousand men, lately arrived from Persia. The next day he set forward on his journey with the horse that remained with him. Cyrus advanced to meet him with his, who were very numerous, and in good order. The sight of them awakened the jealousy and discontent of Cyaxares. He gave his nephew a very cold reception, turned aside his face, and declined his kiss, and even let fall some tears. Cyrus commanded all that stood by him to withdraw, and reasoned with him upon the occasion. He spoke with so much mildness, submission, and force; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interests, and he removed in a moment all his suspicions, and was perfectly restored to his good graces. They mutually embraced each other, and shed tears on both sides. The joy of the Medes and Persians was inexpressible, who waited for the issue of this interview with fear and trembling. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately mounted their horses, and then all the Medes posted themselves behind Cyaxares, pursuant to the signal Cyrus had given them. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the other nations their respective princes. When they were arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent which had been prepared for him. He was im-

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mediately visited by most of the Medes, who came to pay their respects to him, and make him presents, some of their own accord, and others by the direction of Cyrus. Cyaxares was extremely affected with it, and began to be convinced, that Cyrus had not debauched his subjects from him, but that the Medes bore him the same affectionate regard they had done before.

REFLECTIONS.

This whole story is full of instruction. We see in Cyrus, all the qualifications requisite to form a great man, and in his troops whatever renders an army invincible. This young prince, far superior in his sentiments to those of his rank and age, placed not his glory in magnificent repasts, clothes, and equipages. He was unacquainted with the airs of haughtiness and pride, by which young men of quality often imagine they distinguish themselves. He valued riches only for the pleasure of distributing them, and the opportunity they gave him of adding to the number of his friends. He (p) was surprisingly a master in the art of gaining the affections of others, and still more by his obliging deportment and engaging behaviour, than his liberality. As he was perfectly acquainted with the science of war, he abounded in stratagems and expedients; witness the change of arms and establishment of cavalry which he introduced amongst the Persians. He was sober, vigilant, inured to labour, insensible to the allurements of pleasure; and the contrast between him and Cyaxares very much exalts the value of his excellent qualities.

At an age, when the passions are usually most violent, and in the very heat of victory, when every thing seems allowable, in the midst of the applauses and praises he received on all sides, he always remained absolute master of himself, and gave a young lord, who was very unlike him, such lectures of continence and virtue, as are surprising, even to us

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(p) *Artificium benevolentiae colligendae*, says Tully, speaking of Cyrus. Ep. 1. ad Quint. fratrem,

that are Christians, and are so very remote from our manners, that they seem almost incredible.

But what must astonish us still more, is the infinite veneration he paid to the gods; his exactness in forming no enterprize without consulting them, and imploring their assistance; his religious acknowledgement of their favours, by ascribing all his good success to them; and the open profession of piety and religion he was not ashamed to make at all times, and upon all occasions, if I may be allowed to use these terms in the case of a prince, who was ignorant of the true God.

This is what youth must study in Cyrus; and it may not be amiss to observe to them, that one of the greatest commanders in the Roman republic, was formed upon this model; I mean, the second Scipio Africanus, who had the admirable books of the *Cyropædia* continually in his hands. (p) 'Ouos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Scipio Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat. Nullum est enim prætermissum in his officium diligentis et moderati imperii.'

III. *The CONTINUATION of the WAR. The TAKING of BABYLON. NEW CONQUESTS. The DEATH of CYRUS.* Cyrop. lib. 6, &c.

In the council, which was held in the presence of Cyaxares, it was resolved to continue the war. They made preparations for it with indefatigable ardour. The enemy's army were still more in number than they had been the preceding campaign, and Egypt alone furnished above sixscore thousand men. They met at Thymbræa, a city of Lydia. Cyrus, after taking all necessary precautions for supplying his army with every thing it might want, in which he was surprisingly particular, as Xenophon relates at large, determined to begin his march. Cyaxares did not follow him, but tarried behind with a third

part

(p) Cic. ep. 1. ad Quint. fratrem.

part of the Medes only, that he might not leave his country entirely without troops.

As Abradates, king of Susiana, was preparing to put on his armour, his wife Panthea brought him an helmet, with bracelets and lockets of massy gold, a coat of arms fit for him, plaited to the bottom, and a large plume of feathers of a purple colour. She had wrought the most part of them with her own hands unknown to her husband, that she might have the pleasure of surprising him with the present. And, though passionately fond of him, she exhorted him rather to die with his arms in his hand, than not signalize himself by some action worthy their birth, and the character she had given of him to Cyrus. We, says she, are under the highest obligations to him. When I was his prisoner, and, as such, designed for him, I was not treated as a slave by him, nor restored to liberty upon shameful conditions. He took as much care of me, as if I had been the wife of his own brother; and I promised him that you should be grateful for such a favour. Be not therefore unmindful of it. O Jupiter! cries Abradates, lifting up his eyes to heaven, grant that I may this day shew myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend that deserves so generous a benefactor. When he had said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, who could hold him no longer in her arms, kissed the chariot, and following it for some time on foot, at length retired.

When the armies were come within view of each other, they prepared for battle. After public and general prayers, Cyrus offered libations in particular, and again besought the god of his father to espouse his cause, and guide him with his assistance. And hearing a clap of thunder, he cried out, *We follow thee, (t) O Jupiter Supreme!* and instantly advanced towards the enemy. As the front of their battle far exceeded that of the Persians, they in the center

(t) God indeed was actually his guide, but a very different God from Jupiter.

center stood still, whilst the two wings advanced, inclining to the right and left, with a design to surround the army of Cyrus, and charge him at the same time in several places. This was what he expected, and was not at all surpris'd at. He ran through all the ranks to encourage his troops; and, though, upon other occasions, he behaved with so much modesty, and was so remote from all appearance of vanity, when he was upon the point to engage, he cried out with a resolute and decisive voice, Follow to certain victory; the gods are on our side. After giving all necessary orders, and causing the usual hymn to be sung through all the army, he gave the signal.

Cyrus began with attacking the wing of the enemy, which had advanced upon the right flank of his army; and having charged it also in flank, put it into disorder. The same was done on the other side, where they made the squadron of camels advance first. The enemy's cavalry did not wait their coming up; but as soon as the horses saw them at a distance, they fell back upon one another, and some of them prancing and flinging, threw their riders to the ground. The chariots armed with scythes, finished what was wanting to complete the confusion. In the mean time, Abradates, who commanded the chariots that were placed at the head of the army, brought them on full speed. The enemy was unable to sustain so rough a charge, and were put to the rout. Abradates having pierced them, fell upon the battalions of the Egyptians; but his chariot being unfortunately overturned, he was slain with his men, after having given extraordinary proofs of his valour. The battle was fierce on that side, and the Persians were forced to fall back as far as their machines. There the Egyptians found themselves much incommoded by the arrows that were cast from those rolling towers; and the battalions of the rear guard of the Persians advancing sword in hand, hindered the archers from passing farther, and

and obliged them to return to their post. There was then nought else to be seen but rivers of blood streaming on every side. In the mean time, Cyrus came up, after having put to flight whatever had opposed him. He was grieved to see the Persians had given way, and judging the Egyptians would still go on to gain ground, he resolved to attack them in the rear; and in an instant, having thrown himself with his troops behind their battalions, he charged them rudely. The horse at the same time advanced, and attacked the enemy briskly. The Egyptians, thus encompassed on every side, faced about on all sides, and defended themselves with wonderful courage. Cyrus at last admiring their valour, and being unwilling to suffer so many brave men to be cut in pieces, offered them honourable conditions, representing to them that all their allies had forsaken them. These conditions were accepted, and they afterwards served in his troops with inviolable fidelity.

After the loss of the battle, Croesus fled with great diligence to Sardis with his troops, whither Cyrus pursued him the next day, and made himself master of the city, without any resistance.

From thence he marched directly to Babylon, conquering by the way the Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia. When he was come before the town, and had carefully examined its situation, walls, and fortifications, every one judged it was absolutely impossible to take it by force.* He seemed therefore resolved upon the design of carrying it by famine. To this end, he caused very large and deep ditches to be dug quite round the town, to prevent, as he said, any thing from entering in or going out. The people of the city could not help ridiculing his design to besiege them; and as the town was furnished with more than twenty years provisions, they made a jest of all the trouble he was at. When his works were finished, Cyrus was advised, that a great festival was soon to be solemnized, whereon all the Babylonians

Babylonians spent the night in drinking and revelling. Upon the night of the festival, which came on early, he caused the mouth of the trenches to be opened which pointed towards the river, when the water rushed impetuously into this new channel, and leaving its former bed dry, opened Cyrus a free passage into the city. His troops therefore entered without any resistance. They marched forward till they came to the palace, where the king was slain. At break of day, the citadel surrendered, upon the news that the town was taken, and the king dead. Cyrus caused proclamation to be made in all quarters, that whoever would escape with their lives, should tarry in their houses, and send him their arms: which was done immediately. And this was all the trouble this prince had in conquering the richest and strongest city then in the world.

Cyrus began with returning thanks to the gods for the good success they had granted him. He assembled the principal officers, publicly commended their courage, wisdom, zeal, and fidelity, and distributed rewards to the whole army. He then remonstrated to them, that the only way to preserve what they had acquired, was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the fruits of a victory did not consist in abandoning themselves to ease and idleness; that after they had conquered the enemy by force of arms, it would be shameful to let themselves be conquered by the allurements of pleasure; that, lastly, if they would retain their ancient glory, they must maintain the same discipline at Babylon amongst the Persians, as was observed in their own country, and to this end employ their chief care in the good education of their children. By this means, says he, we shall daily grow more virtuous ourselves, by striving to set them good examples; and they cannot easily be corrupted, whilst they neither see nor hear any thing from us, but what has a tendency to virtue, and are continually employed in the practice of honest and commendable exercises.

Cyrus

Cyrus assigned the different parts and cares of the government to different persons, according to the talents he knew them to be masters of; but he reserved to himself alone the office of forming generals, governors of provinces, ministers, and ambassadors, as judging this to be properly the duty and business of a king, and that whereon his glory, the success of all his affairs, and the quiet and happiness of the empire, absolutely depended. Matters relating to the war, the finances, and the civil government, he disposed in a surprising order. He had persons of known probity dispersed through all the provinces, who gave him an account of all that passed; and these were called the eyes and ears of the prince. He was careful to reward and honour all persons distinguished by their merit, and excelling in any particular whatsoever. He set a far greater value upon clemency than courage, as the last was often the cause of the ruin and desolation of a people, whereas the other was always beneficial and salutary. The laws, he judged, were of admirable service in contributing to a due regulation of manners; but, in his opinion, the prince was to be a living law by his example; and he thought him unworthy to command others, who had not more understanding and virtue than his subjects. Liberality seemed to him a virtue truly royal; but he did not think it comparable to goodness, affability, and humanity; virtues proper to gain the hearts and win the affections of the people, which is properly to reign; besides, that to be fond of giving more than others, when one is infinitely richer than they, has nothing so extraordinary in it, as to descend in a manner from the throne, to make himself equal with his subjects. But the greatest preference he gave to the worship of the gods, and a reverence for religion; as being fully persuaded, that whoever was religious, and feared God, was at the same time a good and faithful servant to kings, and firmly attached to their persons, and the good of the state.

When

When Cyrus thought he had given sufficient orders concerning the affairs of Babylon, he resolved upon a journey into Persia. He passed through Media to visit Cyaxares, to whom he made considerable presents, and let him know that he would find a magnificent palace prepared for him at Babylon, whenever he pleased to go thither, and that he should look upon that city as properly his own. Cyaxares, who had no male issue, offered him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her portion. He was very sensible the proposal was to his advantage; but he could not accept it, till he had obtained the consent of his father and mother; leaving to all after-ages a rare example of the respectful submission and entire dependence that all children ought to shew to their parents upon such an occasion, of what age soever they be, or to what degree of power and greatness soever they are arrived. Cyrus then espoused this princess at his return from Persia, and carried her with him to Babylon, where he had fixed the seat of his empire.

There he assembled his troops. It is said, they consisted of sixscore thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. With this numerous army he took the field, and subdued all the nations, from Syria to the Indian sea. After which, he turned his arms against Egypt, and brought that country in like manner under his subjection.

He took up his residence in the midst of all these countries, passing usually seven months at Babylon during the winter, because of the warmth of the climate; three months at Susa in the spring; and two months at Ecbatana, during the great heats of the summer.

After many years spent in this manner. Cyrus returned into Persia for the seventh time since the establishment of his monarchy. Cambyfes and Mandane had been long dead, and himself was grown very old. Finding his end to draw near, he called
together

together his sons, and the great men of the empire; and when he had thanked the gods for all the favours they had bestowed upon him during his life, and begged a like protection of them for his children, his friends, and his country, he declared his eldest son Cambyfes his successor, and left the other several considerable governments. He gave them both excellent advice, by informing them, that piety to the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the care of acquiring and preserving faithful friends, was the firmest support of the throne. He died lamented equally by all his people.

REFLECTIONS.

I shall make two upon this subject; the one concerning the character and personal qualities of Cyrus; and the other upon the truth of his history, as written by Xenophon.

The first REFLECTION.

We may look upon Cyrus as the wisest conqueror and most accomplished hero mentioned in profane history. He wanted none of the qualities that form a great man; he had wisdom, moderation, courage, greatness of soul, noble sentiments, a wonderful dexterity in directing the will, and conciliating affection; a profound knowledge in all the branches of the art of war, and an extensive understanding, supported by a prudent resolution, in forming and executing great projects.

But what was most truly great and royal in him (s) was a thorough conviction, that all his care and attention ought to tend to making his people happy; and

(s) Ἐγὼ μὲν αἶμα διὺν τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαδέξαι, ὃ τῷ, πολυτέλειον δειπνῆν, καὶ πλείον ἔνδοσ ἔχειν χρυσία, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν τε καὶ φιλοπονεῖν προθυμέμενον. Cyrop. l. 1.

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præfunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quam beatissimi. Cic. ep. lib. 1. ad Quint. fratrem.

and that a king was not to be distinguished from his subjects by the splendor of riches, the pomp of equipage, or the luxury and expence of his table, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and especially by an indefatigable application to watch over their interests, and to procure them ease and plenty. In short, the foundation and basis, in a manner, of the state of princes, is not to live for themselves. To be devoted to the public good, is the very characteristic of their real greatness. They are like the fountain of light set only in an high place, to be the more universally diffused. And it would be injurious to them to confine them within the narrow bounds of personal interest. They would fall again into the obscurity of a private condition, if their views were less extended than their dominions. The whole claims them, because confided to them.

'Twas from the assemblage of all these virtues that Cyrus was enabled in so short a time to lay the foundations of an empire, which took in almost all the parts of the world; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruit of his conquests for many years; that he was so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; and that after his death, he was generally lamented as the common father of all his people.

We ought not to be surpris'd that Cyrus was so accomplished in every respect, as we know that God himself had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his designs of mercy towards his people, and to give the world, in his person, a perfect model of the manner in which princes ought to govern their people, and the real use they ought to make of sovereignty.

When I say that this prince was formed by God himself, I do not mean by a sensible miracle, or that he was at once made such, as we admire him in his story. God gave him an happy genius and capacity, by implanting in his mind the seeds of every great quality, and in his heart a disposition to the most
extra-

extraordinary virtues. He took care, that these happy natural parts should be improved by an excellent education; and thus he prepared him for the great designs he had marked out for him. As he is the light of the soul, he dispersed all his doubts, suggested to him the properest expedients, made him attentive to the best counsels, enlarged his views, and rendered them more clear and distinct. Thus God presided over his enterprizes, led him as it were by the hand in all his conquests, opened for him the gates of cities, made the strongest ramparts fall down before him, and humbled in his presence the most mighty of the earth (h).

To set the merit of Cyrus in a better light,, we need only compare him with another king of Persia, I mean Xerxes his grandson, who, hurried on by an absurd motive of revenge, attempted to subdue Greece. We see him surrounded with whatever is held most in esteem, and makes the greatest figure in the eyes of men; the largest empire at that time in the world, immense riches, forces by sea and land, in an almost incredible number. But all this was but around him, not in him, and added nothing to his natural qualifications. For, through a blindness too common amongst princes and great men, born to the possession of unbounded wealth, with unlimited power, and encompassed with a glory he had been at no pains to acquire, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit, from the outside of his high place and state. He despises the sage advice of his uncle Artabanus and Demaratus, to give ear only to the flatterers of his vanity. He measures the success of his enterprizes by the extent of his power. The servile sub-
mission

(h) Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him: And I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut asunder the bars of iron. Isa. xlv. 1, 2.

mission of so many nations does not satisfy his ambition; and disdaining too ready and easy an obedience, he pleases himself with exercising his dominion over the elements, with cutting through mountains, and making them navigable, with chastising the sea for breaking down his bridge, and binding the floods with chains. Full of a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as master of nature and the elements; thinks no nation dares oppose his way, and with presumptuous folly and idle assurance, reckons upon the millions of men and vessels that follow at his heels. But when, after the battle of Salamis, he saw the sad remains and shameful ruins of his innumerable troops, dispersed over all Greece, he was then convinced of the difference there was between an army and a multitude of men; (u) "*stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba distaret.*"

I cannot omit applying in this place two of Horace's verses, which seem made for the double event I have now been speaking of.

"*Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua;*

"*Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt*

"*In majus.*"

In short, can the army of Xerxes be better described, than by these words, "*vis consilii expers,*" a power void of counsel and prudence? or can the success of it be expressed better, than by the following terms, "*mole ruit sua,*" which shew how that enormous Colossus fell by its own weight and grandeur? Whereas, says Horace, the gods take a pleasure in augmenting a power founded in justice, and guided by reason, such as was the power of Cyrus, "*Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt in majus.*"

The

(u) Senec. lib. 6. de Benef. cap. 32.

The second REFLECTION.

One of the rules I laid down as useful to direct youth in the study of history, was, principally to inquire after truth, and early to accustom themselves to know and distinguish the characters of it. This is the natural place of applying this rule. Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what I look upon to be the essential part and substance of Cyrus's history, I mean his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, are very different in their accounts of several other very important facts, such as the birth and death of this prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire.

Youth should not be left ignorant of these differences. Herodotus, and after him Justin, relate, that Astyages, king of the Medes, upon a frightful dream which he had, married his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and condition, named Cambyses. A son being born of this marriage, the king ordered Harpagus, one of the principal officers, to put him to death. Harpagus gave him to one of the king's shepherds to be exposed in a forest; but the child being miraculously preserved, and brought up privately by the shepherd's wife, was at last discovered by his grandfather, who was satisfied with sending him to a remote part of Persia, and discharged his whole indignation upon the wretched Harpagus, whose son he caused to be killed, and dressed, and served up to his father at an entertainment. The young Cyrus, several years after, informed by Harpagus of his birth and station, and encouraged by his advice and remonstrances; raised an army, marched against Astyages, defeated him in battle, and thereby transferred the empire of the Medes to the Persians.

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner very unworthy so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, having made war against the Scythians,

thians, in the first battle he counterfeited a flight, leaving behind him a large quantity of wine and provisions in the field. The Scythians did not fail to fall greedily upon them. Cyrus returned against them, and finding them all drunk and asleep, he defeated them without difficulty, took abundance of them prisoners, and among the rest the son of Queen Tomyris, who commanded an army in person. This young prince, whom Cyrus refused to send back to his mother, recovering from his drunkenness, and not bearing to suffer captivity, killed himself. Tomyris, animated with a thirst of revenge, gave a second battle to the Persians; and having drawn them in her turn into an ambuscade by a pretended flight, cut off two hundred thousand of them, with Cyrus their king. And then cutting off Cyrus's head, she threw it into a vessel full of blood, with this insulting speech, "Cruel as thou art, satiate thyself with blood, of which in thy life time thou hast always been insatiable," (x) *Satia te, inquit, sanguine quem sitisti, cuiusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.*

The question is, which of these two historians, who relate the same history, in so different a manner, is the best authority. Youth themselves, if properly interrogated by a skilful master may easily give an answer. The account which Herodotus gives of the first years of Cyrus, has more the air of a fable than an history. And for his death, what likelihood is there, that a prince so experienced in war, and still more commendable for his prudence than valour, would have run headlong into the snares laid for him by a woman? What the same historian relates of the violent passion and childish revenge of Cyrus against a river, which had drowned one of his sacred horses, and which he caused his army to cut directly into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly opposite to the character of

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this

(x) Justin. lib. 1. cap. 8.

this prince, (y) who was famous for his mildness and moderation. (z) Besides is it probable that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should squander time so precious to him in this manner, spend the ardour of his troops in so useless a labour, and lose the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself in making war upon a river, instead of carrying his arms against the enemy?

But what absolutely decides in favour of Xenophon, is the agreement of his account with the holy scripture; where we see, that Cyrus was so far from raising the empire of the Persians upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus remarks, that those two nations acted in concert in the siege of Babylon, and joined their forces to destroy that formidable power.

Whence then could so great a difference arise between those two historians? Herodotus will tell us. In the very passage where he relates the birth of Cyrus, and in that where he speaks of his death, he informs us, there were then very different manners of reporting these two great events. Herodotus followed that which was most agreeable to his own fancy; and we know he was fond of any thing extraordinary and wonderful, and very easily gave credit to it. Xenophon was more serious and less credulous; and he tells us, in the beginning of his history, that he had very carefully inquired into the birth of Cyrus, his character and education.

We must not conclude, from what I have said, that Herodotus is not to be credited in any thing, because
he

(y) Tully observes, that during his whole reign, he never let an angry word fall from him: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.* Ep. 2. ad Quint. frat.

(x) Cum Babylonem oppugnaturus festinaret ad bellum, cujus maxima momenta in occasionibus sunt. . . huc omnem transtulit belli apparatus. . . Periit itaque et tempus, magna in magnis rebus jactura; et militum ardor, quem in utilis labor fregit: et occasione aggrediendi imperatos, dum ille bellum indictum hosti cum flumine gerit. Senec. lib. 3. de ira, cap. 21.

he is sometimes mistaken; this rule would be false and unjust; as we should be to blame, to believe every thing an author says, because he sometimes speaks truth. Truth and falshood may be found together; but the reader's judgment and prudence consist in knowing how to distinguish them, in pointing them out by certain peculiar circumstances, and in making a just trial and separation of them. And to this judgment in discerning what is true or false, the boys should be early accustomed.

THE SECOND PIECE *taken from the* HISTORY *of*
the GREEKS.

Of the GRANDEUR and EMPIRE of ATHENS.

MY design in this second piece of history, is to give some idea of the superiority of the Athenians for several years over all Greece, and to lay open by what means and degrees they arrived at that height of power. The principal persons, who in the space of time we speak of, contributed most to the establishment and support of the power of this republic, though by very different qualifications, were Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles.

Themistocles indeed laid the foundation of this new power by one single piece of advice, in turning the whole power and views of the Athenians towards the sea. Cimon brought these naval forces into service by his maritime expeditions, which reduced the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin. Aristides supplied the expences of the war, by his wise œconomy in the management of the public treasure. And Pericles by his prudence, supported and augmented what the others had acquired, in mixing the gentle exercises of peace, with the tumultuous expeditions of war. Thus the rise of the Athenians, was owing to the happy concurrence and mixture of the policy

of Themistocles, the activity of Cimon, the disinterestedness of Aristides, and the wisdom of Pericles; so that if any one of these causes had been wanting, Athens would never have obtained the supremacy of Greece.

The good success of the battle of Marathon, where Themistocles was present, first kindled in his heart that thirst of Glory, which followed him ever after, and sometimes carried him too far. The trophies of Miltiades, he said, left him no rest either by day or night. He resolved from that time, to make his name and country illustrious by some great action, and render it superior to Lacedæmon, which had long lorded it over all Greece. With this view, he judged it would be expedient to turn all the force of Athens towards the sea, seeing that as it was weak by land, that was the only means of making it necessary to its allies, and formidable to its enemies. Covering therefore his designs under the plausible pretext of the war against the *Æginetæ*, he caused a fleet of an hundred ships to be built, which soon after was a great instrument in contributing to the safety of Greece.

The inviolable affection Aristides bore to justice, obliged him upon several occasions to oppose Themistocles, who was not over scrupulous in that point, and managed so by his intrigues and cabals, as to procure the banishment of Aristides. In this kind of judgment the citizens gave their votes, by writing the name of the person upon the shell, in Greek called *ostrakon*. whence was derived the name of ostracism. A peasant upon this occasion, who knew not how to write, and did not know Aristides, applied to himself, desiring he would put the name of Aristides upon his shell. Why, says Aristides, has he done you any wrong, that you would thus condemn him? No, replied the other, I don't so much as know him; but I cannot endure to hear every body calling him *Just*. Aristides, without one word of answer, quietly

ly takes his shell, writes his name upon it, and gives it to him back again. He took his leave with an earnest prayer, that the gods would not inflict any misfortune upon his country to make him regretted. The great Camillus, in a like case, did not follow his generosity, but offered up a quite different petition. (a) 'In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratae facerent.' I shall hereafter examine what we are to think of the ostracism. Aristides was very soon recalled.

The expedition of Xerxes against Greece, hastened his return. All the allies united their forces to repel the common enemy. They were then sensible how serviceable the prudent foresight of Themistocles was, who, under another pretence, had built an hundred gallies. They doubled this number upon the arrival of Xerxes. When they came to nominate the generalissimo, that was to command the fleet, the Athenians, who alone were masters of two thirds of the vessels, laid claim to the honour, and most justly. However all the voices of the allies were unanimous in favour of Eurybiades the Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, though young and very desirous of glory, judged, that upon this occasion, he ought to lay aside his own interest, for the common good of his country; and telling the Athenians, that if they behaved with courage, the Greeks would soon of their own accord confer the command upon them; he persuaded them to yield to the Lacedæmonians, as he did. I have elsewhere related with what moderation and prudence this young Athenian behaved both in the council of war, and at the battle of Salamis, whereof he had all the honour, though he was not the commander in chief.

From that glorious victory, the reputation and credit of the Athenians very much increased. They behaved with great modesty upon the occasion, and

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(a) Liv. lib. 5. n. 32.

sought only to advance their power by honourable and just means. Mardonius, who was left in Greece with an army of three hundred thousand men, made them very advantageous proposals in his master's name to draw them off from the allies. He promised entirely to rebuild the city, which had been burned down, to supply them with large sums of money, and give them the command of all Greece. The Lacedæmonians terrified with the news, sent deputies to Athens, to dissuade them from a compliance, and offered to receive and provide for their wives, their children, and their old men, and furnish them with every thing else they wanted. Aristides was then in power. He answered, that he excused the Barbarians, who valued nothing but gold and silver, for hoping to corrupt their fidelity by large promises; but he was surprised and displeased to see that the poverty and present misery of the Athenians should have such an effect upon the Lacedæmonians, as to make them forget so much their valour and generosity, as to imagine they stood in need of their exhortation to fight manfully for the common safety of Greece, from the view of any rewards that they could offer; that they should tell their republic, that all the gold in the world could not tempt the Athenians, or make them abandon the defence of the common liberty; that they thanked the Lacedæmonians however for their obliging offers, but they should take care to put their allies to no expence. And then turning to the deputies of Mardonius, and stretching out his hand to the skies, "Know, says he, whilst yon sun shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and never cease to revenge upon them the ravages of their lands, and the burning of their houses and temples."

Themistocles in the mean time did not lose sight of the great project he had formed for supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and substituting the Athenians in their place; and without much concern about the choice

choice of the means, he thought every thing just and good that promoted that end. One day, in a full assembly of the citizens, he declared that he had a design of great importance, but could not communicate it to the people, because the success of it depended upon its being kept secret; he desired therefore they would nominate somebody to whom he might explain himself. They all named Aristides and referred themselves absolutely to his opinion. Themistocles taking him aside told him he thought of burning the Grecian fleet, which lay in a neighbouring port; and that if this was done, Athens would certainly become mistress of Greece. Aristides returned to the assembly, and barely declared that nothing in the world could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor any thing at the same time more unjust. The people with one consent, forbade Themistocles to proceed in it any farther.

We see by this, that the surname of *Just* was deservedly conferred upon Aristides during his life-time; a title, says Plutarch, infinitely preferable to all that are pursued by the greatest conquerors with so much ardour, and in some measure bordering upon divinity. One day as a verse of *Æschylus* was repeated upon the theatre, in which the poet speaking of *Amphiaraus*, says, *that he sought not to appear just, but to be so*; the whole people immediately cast their eyes upon Aristides, and applied to him that admirable encomium.

The Persian army received a terrible blow in the famous battle of *Platæa*. Out of three hundred thousand men commanded by *Mardonius*, scarce forty thousand escaped. *Pausanias*, one of the kings of *Sparta*, was at the head of the Grecian army. He behaved at that time with great equality and moderation, as appears from two stories related by (z) *Herodotus*, which are very particular.

After the victory of *Platæa*, one of the principal citizens of *Ægina* advised him, to revenge upon the body of *Mardonius*, the death of so many brave Spartans, as were slain at *Thermopylæ*, and the unwor-

thy treatment his uncle Leonidas had met with from Xerxes and Mardonius, who fixed his body to a gibbet. "Would you advise me then, says he, to imitate the Barbarians in the thing we hate? If the esteem of the *Æginetæ* is to be bought at so dear a rate, I shall be content with pleasing the Lacedæmonians, who set a value only upon virtue and merit. As to Leonidas and his companions, they are without doubt sufficiently revenged by the blood of so many thousand Persians, as have been slain in the battle."

The second story is no less remarkable. Pausanias who had found an immense booty in the camp of the enemy, ordered two entertainments of a very different kind to be served up in the small hall. In one was displayed at full length the magnificence of the Persians, rich beds, costly carpets, gold and silver vessels innumerable, a prodigious variety of meats dressed with all the delicacy imaginable, wines and liquors of all sorts. The other was very plain, after the Spartan manner, that is, bread and water, and at most the black-broth. Pausanias applying himself to the greek officers, whom he had purposely invited, and pointing to the two different tables, "See," (a) says he to them, "the folly of the general of the Medes, though accustomed to dine upon such meals as these, he thought to conquer us, who lived so hardily."

The advantage the Greeks had lately gained, put them in a condition to send a fleet to the assistance of the allies, who were yet under the power of the Persians. This fleet was commanded by Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. Aristides and Cimon were the generals of the Athenians. They first set sail towards Cyprus, then to Byzantium, and took it; and in all places restored the allies to their liberty; but soon after fell themselves into a new kind of slavery.

Pau-

(a) Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα ἔγωγε ὑμῶν συνήγαγον, βε-
λέμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δεῖξαι ὅς τοι-
σινδε δίκαιην ἔχων, ἦλθ' εἰς ἡμέας οὕτω δόζουρην ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησώ-
μενος.

Pausanias, grown haughty upon the victories he had obtained, quitted the manners and customs of his country, assumed the habit and state of the Persians, and imitated their pomp and magnificence. He treated the allies with insupportable severity; spoke to the officers with a lofty and menacing air; required extravagant honours to be paid to him; and by his conduct rendered the government of the Lacedæmonians odious to all the allies. The gentle, good-natured, and obliging behaviour of Aristides and Cimon, the humanity and justice which appeared in all their actions, the care they took to offend no body, and be serviceable to all, contributed to make the difference of characters still more remarkable, and to increase the discontent. The affair at last broke out into an open rupture, and the allies all submitted to the command of the Athenians, and put themselves under their protection. Thus, says Plutarch, Aristides, by opposing gentleness and good nature to the pride and cruelty of Pausanias, and inspiring the same sentiments into Cimon his colleague, withdrew the affections of the allies imperceptibly from the Lacedæmonians, and at last deprived him of the command, not by the force of fleets and armies, and still less by fraud and treachery, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable through their discreet and mild behaviour.

The Lacedæmonians upon this occasion shewed a generosity and moderation, which cannot be too much admired. For perceiving that too great authority had rendered their officers haughty and insolent, they readily gave up the superiority they had till then held over the rest of the Greeks, and forbore to desire that the command of their army should be entrusted to any more of their generals, (b) chusing rather to have discreet and modest citizens, and such as would absolute-

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ly

(b) Μᾶλλον αἰρέμενοι σοφροῦντας ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἡθροῖν ἰμμε-
 ροντας τοὺς πολίτας, ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης.
 Plut. in vit. Aristid.

ly submit to the discipline and laws of their country, than to preserve the pre-eminence over the other Greeks. Hitherto the cities and people of Greece had contributed certain sums of money to defray the expence of the war against the Barbarians; but this collection had always occasioned great discontents, as it had not been raised in due proportion. It was therefore judged expedient under the new government to establish a new order for the finances, and fix a tax to be regulated by the revenue of every city and people, that the charges of the state being equally divided amongst its respective members, none of them might have cause to complain. The business was to find out a fit person for the discharge of an employment of such moment to the public, and yet so nice, and full of dangers and inconveniencies. All the Allies made choice of Aristides. They gave him a full power, and referred themselves absolutely to his prudence and justice for the imposition of the tax. Nor had they any cause to repent of their choice. He managed the public money with the fidelity and disinterestedness of one who looks upon it as a capital crime to lay his hand upon the property of another, with the care and activity of a father of a family inspecting into his own revenue, and with the caution and religion of a person, who considers the public money as a sacred treasure. Lastly, what is very difficult and very rare, he acquired the affection of every body in a station, where a man must manage well not to make himself odious. This glorious encomium Seneca bestows upon a person entrusted with a like employment, which is the highest character that can be given a minister, to whom the public treasures are confided. I shall give his words in Latin, not being able to express the strong and elegant brevity of Seneca in our own language, in the manner I could wish. ‘Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras, tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.’

This

This is literally what Aristides did. He shewed so much equity and wisdom in the administration of his office, that no body complained of him; and his time was ever after regarded as the golden age of Greece. In short, the tax he had fixed to four hundred and sixty talents, was advanced by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents; not that the charge of the war amounted to so high, but because of many useless expences in distributions to the people of Athens, in the celebrating of plays and festivals, in the building of temples and public edifices; and besides, the hands of those who had the counting of the public money, were not always so pure and clean as the hands of Aristides.

For it is remarkable, that this great man was poorer when he left his employment, in which men usually grow rich, than when he first entered upon it; inso-much, that after his death, there was not enough in his house to defray the expences of his funeral. The people charged themselves with it, and also with the maintenance of his daughters, and giving them portions. (e) This condition, so despicable in the eyes of the generality of mankind, was the choice of Aristides, in which he always persevered out of taste and inclination; and so far was he from being ashamed of his poverty, that he looked upon it to be no less glorious than all the trophies and victories he had gained. Plutarch gives a proof of it, which I cannot omit here.

Callias, a very near relation of Aristides, and the richest citizen in Athens, was brought to a trial upon an accusation against him. His accuser, insisting little upon the merits of his cause, chiefly objected to him, that, rich as he was, he was not ashamed to see Aristides, his wife, and children, reduced to want, without relieving their necessities. Callias, observing that this reproach made a great impression upon the minds of

(e) 'Αυτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένους εἶναι δοξάζειν αὐτὸν ἡττον ἀγαπᾶν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων διατίλῃσι. Plut.

of his judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether it was not true, that he had several times offered him to accept of them; and whether he had not constantly refused them, by saying, that he could not boast more justly of his poverty, than the other of his riches; that a great many might be found who made a good or bad use of their riches, but it was not easy to meet with one who bore poverty with courage and generosity; and that none but those who were poor against their will, ought to be ashamed of being so. Aristides owned, that all his kinsman had said was true. And there was no person in the assembly, who was not thoroughly convinced in his own mind, that it was much better to be poor like Aristides, than rich like Callias. Hence Plato, reckoning up such as were most famous among the Athenians, set a value upon none but Aristides. For the rest, (d) says he, as Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they adorned the city indeed with porticos and sumptuous buildings; filled it with gold and silver, and such other superfluities and curiosities; but he left behind him the model of a perfect government, by proposing no other end in all his actions, than the making his citizens more virtuous.

(e) Cimon had also very great qualities, which contributed very much to the establishing and confirming the power of the Athenians. Besides the sums of money, in which every one of the allies were taxed, they were besides to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several of them, who, after the retreat of Xerxes, were desirous only of repose, and sought nothing more than to cultivate their lands in peace, chose rather to send money than men, and left to the Athenians the care of filling up the vacancies of soldiers and seamen they were obliged to supply. At first this occasioned

(d) Θερμοκλέα μὲν γὰρ, καὶ Κίμωνα, καὶ Περικλέα, σοὶν καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ φλυαρίας, πολλῆς ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν. Ἀριστοδ. δὲ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν. Plut. in vit. Aristid.

(e) Plut. in vit. Cimon.

casioned great uneasiness, and they seemed resolved to put them upon the literal execution of the treaty. Cimon took a quite opposite method. He suffered them to enjoy peace in quiet, as perceiving that the allies, though formerly brave soldiers, would soon be fit for nothing but husbandry and merchandize; whilst the Athenians, who had constantly their oars or their arms in their hands, would daily grow better soldiers, and become more powerful. This was a necessary consequence; those very people, at their own proper expence and charges, gave themselves masters, and, from being companions and allies, became in a manner subject and tributary to the Athenians.

(f) No general among the Greeks ever humbled the pride and power of the great king of Persia, like Cimon. When the Barbarians were driven out of Greece, he left them no breathing time, but pursued them briskly with a fleet of above two hundred sail, got possession of their strongest places, and drew off all their allies, that the king of Persia had not a soldier left in Asia, from the country of Ionia to Pamphylia. And still pursuing his point, he had the boldness to fall upon the enemy's fleet, though far more numerous than his own, at the mouth of the river Eurymedon. He entirely defeated it, and took above two hundred vessels, without reckoning those that were sunk. The Persians had quitted their vessels, to join their army by land, which lay hard by, and were coasting the shore. Cimon, taking advantage of the ardour of his soldiers, who were encouraged by their late success, landed them immediately, and led them directly against the Barbarians, who firmly stood their ground, and supported the first shock with a great deal of courage. But at last being forced to give way, they took to their heels. They made a great slaughter, took an infinite number of prisoners, and an immense booty. Cimon having thus gained two victories in one day, which equalled, if not exceeded in glory, the two great

great battles of Salamis and Plataea, to complete all, went to meet a supply of fourscore Phœnician vessels, which were coming to join the fleet of the Persians, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers killed or drowned. This exploit so humbled the pride of the king of Persia, that he consented to that treaty of peace so much talked of in ancient history, by which he promised, that his army by land should never come nearer the Grecian sea than 430 *Stadia*, which make near twenty leagues, and that his gallies or other vessels of war should not go beyond the Chalidonian or Cyanean islands.

Cimon returned to Athens full of glory, and applied part of the spoils in fortifying the port, and adorning the city. (f) During his absence, Pericles had acquired considerable authority among the people. He was not naturally of a popular disposition, but became so through policy, to remove the suspicions which might be conceived of his aspiring to tyranny, as also to counterbalance the credit and authority of Cimon, who was supported by the faction of the rich and Powerful. Pericles had an excellent education, and had been formed by the most able philosophers of his age. (g) Anaxagoras, who was the first that ascribed human events and the government of the world, not to a blind chance or a fatal necessity, but to a supreme intelligence or mind, which governed and directed all things with the greatest wisdom, had thoroughly instructed him in natural philosophy, or physics. This study had given him an extraordinary force and elevation of mind; and, instead of the mean and timorous superstition engendered by ignorance, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a solid piety towards the gods, accompanied with a firm resolution, and sure hope of the blessings to be expected from them. This science was also useful to him in his expeditions. For when

(f) Plut. in vit. Pericl.

(g) For this reason Anaxagoras was called Νοῦς, intelligence & mind.

when the fleet of the Athenians was preparing to set sail against Peloponnesus, an eclipse of the sun happening, Pericles taking notice that the pilot of his own galley was terrified at the sudden darkness, threw his cloke over his eyes, and told him the same cause hindered him from seeing the sun. He was also well versed in eloquence, which he looked upon as necessary to one that would govern and manage the people.

(h) The poets said of him, that he *fulminated, thundered, and set all Greece in a ferment*, he excelled so much in the art of speaking. He was no less prudent and reserved, than strong and vehement in his discourse; and it is observed, that he never spoke in public without praying to the gods, not to let an expression fall from him, which was not proper to his subject. Eupolis said of him, that the goddess of persuasion sat upon his lips; and as (i) Thucydides, his adversary and rival, was one day asked, who wrestled best, he or Pericles? When I have got him down, says he, upon the ground, he maintains the contrary with so much force, that he persuades the standers-by to disbelieve their own eyes, and think that he did not fall.

(k) Such was the adversary, with whom Cimon was often obliged to contend, when he returned from his glorious campaigns. But as Pericles, from his obliging manner and the force of his eloquence, had made himself master of the affections of the people, he easily got the better of Cimon, and occasioned his being banished by ostracism. However, within five years he was recalled upon the ill state of the affairs of Athens in regard to the Lacedæmonians; and Pericles sacrificing his jealousy to the good of the public, was not ashamed to write and carry the decree himself, by which his adversary was recalled. As soon as he returned, he restored peace, and reconciled the two powers. And to remove from the Athenians, who

were

(h) Ab Aristophane Poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. Orat. n. 29.

(i) This was not the historian.

(k) Plut. in vit. Cimon.

were puffed up with the good success of so many victories, all farther inclination or opportunity to fall upon their neighbours and allies, he judged it necessary to lead them against the common enemy, that by this honourable method, he might at the same time exercise and enrich his fellow citizens. He therefore fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail. Sixty of these he sent against the isle of Cyprus. He beat the enemies fleet, and whilst he was laying a scheme for the entire destruction of the Persian empire, he received a wound at the siege of a city in Cyprus, of which he died. He prudently advised the Athenians to retreat in good order, and conceal his death. This direction was observed, and they safely returned home, under the conduct and protection of Cimon, though dead above thirty days before. From that time the Greeks never did any thing considerable against the Barbarians; they fell into divisions amongst themselves, gave the common enemy time to retrieve their affairs, and ruined themselves with their own forces.

Cimon was generally lamented, and the consequence shewed how great a loss Greece sustained in his person. He was rich and opulent; but, (l) says Plutarch, quoting the express words of Gorgias, he was possessed of a great estate only to use it, and used it only to make himself beloved and honoured. (m) History relates such things of his liberality, as seem incredible to us, they are so different from the practice of our own times. His gardens and orchards were always open to the citizens, to take what fruit they liked best. He had every day a table frugally served, but with provision for abundance of people, and all the poor of the city had admittance to it. He had constantly several servants behind him, with orders to slip privately some pieces of money into the hands of the poor they should meet, and to give clothes to such as wanted them. He frequently

(l) Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρηματὰ κλᾶσθαι πρὶν ἂν χρῶτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμᾶντο.

(m) Corn. Nep et Plut. in vit. Cimon,

frequently took care to bury such as had not left enough to defray the expences of a funeral. And all this was not done to gain the affections and votes of the populace; for we have already observed that he declared in favour of the opposite faction, the rich and the noble. It is by no means surprizing that a man of his character should be so much honoured during his life, and lamented after his death.

From that time, and especially after Thucydides the father-in-law of Cimon was banished by ostracism, there being no body left to balance the authority of Pericles, he had an absolute power at Athens, disposing of the finances, troops, and fleet, and managing all public affairs at his sole discretion. He then began to change his conduct, not complying as before with the caprice and fancies of the people, but substituting instead of his former complaisance and indulgence a more firm and independent manner of government, without however departing in any thing from right reason, and the love of the public good. He often engaged the people by remonstrances and arguments to submit voluntarily to what he proposed; but sometimes also by a salutary constraint he obliged them to consent to their own advantage; herein imitating the conduct of a wise physician, who in the course of a long illness complies sometimes with the patient's humour, but frequently orders such medicines, as make him sick and torment him, whilst they cure him. Finding himself therefore at the head of a haughty people, as he had a wonderful dexterity in managing their dispositions, he would, according to different conjunctures, sometimes employ terror to correct the pride, occasioned by their good successes, and sometimes hope to re-animate their courage when depressed by adversity; shewing that rhetoric, as Plato observes, is only the art of inclining and captivating the hearts and understandings of others, and that the surest way to succeed in it, is to know how to make a proper use of the passions, which seldom or never fails of success.

What

What gave Pericles such great credit among the people, was not only the irresistible force of his eloquence, but the high opinion they had of his merit, his prudence, his ability in the affairs of the public, and, above all, his disinterestedness; (n) for he was judged incapable of being corrupted by presents, or governed by avarice. In short, though he was long sole master of the republic, had raised the grandeur of Athens to the highest point of which it was capable, and heaped up immense treasures in the city, he did not increase the estate his father left him one single drachma. He always managed his patrimony indeed with œconomy, took an exact account of the laying out of his revenue, and retrenched all extravagant and superfluous expences, to the great displeasure of his wife and children, who affected shew and magnificence: but to all this vain and frivolous glory he preferred the (o) solid satisfaction of assisting a great number of distressed citizens.

He was no less excellent as a general than as a statesman. The troops had an entire confidence in him, and followed him with equal assurance. His great maxim in war was, not to hazard a battle, till he was almost secure of success, and to spare the blood of the citizens. He used to say, that was it in his power, they should be immortal; that trees cut down and destroyed might grow up again in time, but men that were dead were gone for ever. A victory obtained by a successful temerity, in his opinion, did not deserve any commendation, though often much admired. He was so firmly attached to this maxim, that nothing could ever divert him from it, as was evidently seen at the time the Lacedæmonians made an irruption into Attica. Like a pilot, says Plutarch, who after he had given necessary orders in a storm to all around him, despises the prayers and tears of his companions; so Pericles, having taken wise measures for the security of his country,

and

(n) Ἀνδροπάτης περιφανῶς γενομένης, καὶ χρημάτων κρείττους.

(o) Βοηθῶν πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων.

and resolving not to march out of the city against the enemy, (p) continued firm and unshaken in his resolution, though solicited by the most pressing entreaties of several of his friends, menaced and accused by his enemies, made the subject of ballads and lampoons, and censured as a man of no courage, and a traitor to his country. This constancy and greatness of soul is a very necessary qualification in the administration of public affairs.

Thus all the military expeditions of Pericles, which were many in number, constantly succeeded to his wishes, and justly acquired him the reputation of a general consummate in the art of war.

He did not suffer himself to be flushed by fortune, nor followed the blind ardour of the people, who, elate from so many instances of good success, and haughty from a power which was daily encreasing, meditated new conquests, projected vast schemes, and dreamt of nothing but attacking Egypt again, and subduing the maritime provinces of the Persian empire. Many even then began to cast their eyes upon Sicily, and indulge the unhappy and fatal thoughts of sending a fleet against it; thoughts which Alcibiades soon after revived, to the entire ruin of Athens. Pericles employed his whole credit and abilities, to suppress these unruly sallies and restless dispositions. He rather chose to preserve and secure the old conquests, judging it sufficient to confine the Lacedæmonians within due bounds, who looked upon the power and grandeur of Athens with a jealous eye.

This grandeur was not only splendid abroad by victories acquired over the enemy, but still more so at home, from the magnificence of the buildings and works, wherewith Pericles had adorned and embellished the city, which threw strangers into admiration and rapture, and gave them a great idea of the Athenian power.

'Tis

(p) Ἐχρηλο τοῖς αὐτῷ λογισμοῖς, βραχία φρονιζὼν τῶν καταβοῶν καὶ δυσχεραίνον.

'Tis surprising to see in how little time so many different works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, were finished, and yet carried to the highest pitch of perfection. For works, finished with so much ease and haste, have not generally a solid and lasting grace, nor the regular exactness of perfect beauty. Nothing but length of time and assiduity of labour can give them force to preserve and make them triumph over ages. And it is this makes the works of Pericles the more admirable, which were finished with so much rapidity, and notwithstanding lasted so long. For every one of them, as soon as erected, had the beautiful air of antiquity; and even now, says Plutarch above five hundred years after, they have a certain air of youth and freshness, as if but just come from the hands of the workman; they still retain a grace and newness, that time cannot extinguish, as though they were animated with immortal youth, and a soul exempt from age was diffused quite through them.

Phidias, the famous sculptor, was overseer of the works. 'Twas he in particular, who made the famous golden statue of Minerva, so much esteemed by the connoisseurs of antiquity. There was an incredible ardour and emulation among the work-men. Every one strove who should most excel, and immortalize their names by the excellency of their work.

What occasioned the admiration of the whole world, raised a jealousy against Pericles. His enemies were incessantly crying out in the public assemblies, that it was a dishonour to the people to apply to their own use the wealth of Greece, which he had caused to be brought from Delos, where it was deposited; that the allies could not look upon such an attempt, but as manifest tyranny, whilst they saw the money they had been compelled to raise for the war employed by the Athenians in gilding and adorning their city, in making fine statues, and erecting temples at the expence of millions.

Pericles,

Pericles, on the other hand, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give an account to their allies of the money they had received; that it was enough that they defended them, and kept the Barbarians at a distance, whilst on their side they furnished neither soldiers, nor horses, nor ships, and were excused for certain sums of money, which as soon as paid in, were no longer theirs who paid them, but the property of those that received them, provided they performed the conditions for which they were given. He added, that the city being sufficiently provided with all stores necessary for war, it was proper to employ the rest of their wealth in such works, as, when finished, would procure immortal glory; and whilst they were in hand, would diffuse universal plenty, and subsist a great number of citizens. One day, as the complaints ran high against him, he offered to take the whole charges upon himself, provided the public inscriptions might declare that all was done at his expence. At these words, the people, either through admiration of his magnanimity, or unwilling through emulation to grant him that glory, cried out, that he might make use of the treasury, to supply all the necessary expences, as freely as he pleased.

The enemies of Pericles, not venturing any more to fall directly upon him, accused before the people the persons that were most firmly attached to him, Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras. Pericles, who was thoroughly acquainted with the lightness and inconstancy of the Athenians, fearing he should at last be obliged to sink under the machinations and intrigues of his invidious adversaries, to divert the storm, kindled the Peloponnesian war which had been so long preparing; assured that he should thereby put a stop to the complaints that were raised against him, and appease envy; because in so pressing a danger the city would not fail to put the public affairs into his hands, and submit to his conduct, upon the account of his great power and reputation.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS.

I shall make three; the first upon the character of the persons spoken of in this piece of history; the second upon ostracism; and the third upon the emulation which reigned in Greece, and especially at Athens, with reference to the politer arts.

I. CHARACTERS of THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, and PERICLES.

We ought not, in my opinion, to pass over this piece of history, without asking the pupils, which of these four great men they like best, and which of their good or ill qualities affect them most, and without pointing out to them the particular lineaments that distinguish their several characters.

There is something in Themistocles which strikes exceedingly; and the single battle of Salamis, of which he had all the honour, gives him a right to dispute glory with the greatest. He there shewed invincible courage, a perfect knowledge in the art of war, an extraordinary greatness of soul, joined to a wisdom and moderation, which very much exalt their merit; especially in the instances of his prevailing with the Athenians to resign the general command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, and his bearing the injurious treatment of Eurybiades, with a patience and temper beyond his years.

But what is most admirable in the character of Themistocles, is that penetration and presence of mind, which let nothing escape him. After a short and hasty deliberation, he could immediately point out the best measures that were to be taken; and was extremely dexterous in discerning what was most suitable to the present occasion; and could foretel by almost infallible conjectures, the events of things. The design he laid and executed of making the Athenians strong at sea, shewed he had a
superior

superior genius, capable of the greatest views, of looking into futurity, and laying hold of the decisive point in affairs. As they possessed but a barren territory, of small extent, he saw they had no other means of encreasing their riches and power, of making themselves necessary to their allies, and formidable to their enemies. Now this project may justly be considered as the source and cause of all the great events, which afterwards rendered the republic of Athens so flourishing.

But it must be owned, the black and perfidious design (q) Themistocles proposed, of burning the Grecian fleet in a time of peace, to encrease the Athenian power, must take off infinitely from the good opinion we should otherwise have of him; for as we have often observed, it is the heart, *i. e.* probity and integrity, which constitute and determine real merit. And so the people of Athens judged. I question whether in all history we have a fact more deserving our admiration than this. We have not here a body of philosophers, who can easily lay down excellent maxims in their schools, and teach sublime rules of morality, to shew that the useful ought not to take place. But here an entire people, interested in the proposal made to them, and admitting it very advantageous to the state, without a moment's hesitation, reject it unanimously, for this only reason, because it is unjust.

The great talents of Themistocles were also very much sullied, by an excessive desire of glory, and an unbounded ambition, that he could never keep within just bounds, which led him to oppose the merit of all such as could dispute glory with him, and occasioned the banishment of Aristides, and made him end his days in a dishonourable manner in a foreign land, and amongst the enemies of his country.

Pericles, when he undertook the management of public affairs, found the city in the most flourishing condition

condition of power and greatness to which it had ever attained; whereas his predecessors had rendered it so. And if it be any diminution of his glory, to say, that his business was only to support it in the condition to which others had raised it; we may observe on the other hand, that this was rather a circumstance to his advantage, as it must have been very difficult to rule, and keep within the bounds of their duty, a body of haughty citizens, that were become almost intractable through prosperity.

He supported himself at the head of affairs, and with an almost absolute power, not for a few days, or a small compass of time, but during forty years, though he had a great many illustrious adversaries to contend with; which is almost unexampled. And this circumstance alone is enough to convince us of the extent, superiority, and force of his genius, the solidity of his virtue, and the variety of his accomplishments, especially if we consider he had to do with democracy, very jealous, very seditious, and abounding in persons of merit. Plutarch seems to point out the cause, and gives us his character in a few words, when he says, that Pericles, like Fabius, made himself very useful to his country, by his mildness, his justice, and the resolution and patience with which he bore the imprudent and unjust behaviour of his colleagues and fellow citizens. His enemies, who, during his life, took offence at the excessive credit he had acquired, were obliged to own after his death (r), that never man knew better how to temper authority with moderation, nor to exalt mildness and humanity with a majestic gravity, than him; and his power, which had raised their envy against him, and was called by the odious name of tyranny, seemed then to have been the surest defence and strongest bulwark of the state; so much wickedness and corruption crept afterwards into the government, which durst not shew themselves during his

(r) Ἀνωμόλογον τὸ μετρίωτερον ἐν ὀγκῷ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν πρά-
ῳτι, μὴ φύσαι τ,όπον.

his administration, but were ever kept under restraint, and never suffered to grow up to an excess without remedy, through licentiousness and impunity.

Pericles, by the force of his eloquence, and the ascendancy he had gained over the minds of the people, several times disconcerted the project of a war. By which means he did a signal service to his country; and would have saved it abundance of misfortunes, if he had continued the same conduct to the end. He had honest views in ruling, but would rule alone; and this led him into banishing the best subjects of the republic, and such as were most capable of serving it, because they were a counterbalance to his authority. And, lastly, being apprehensive of the like treatment himself, and finding his credit daily decline, for his own security he kindled a war, which was attended with very fatal consequences to his country.

The magnificent works, wherewith he adorned Athens, are highly extolled; but I fear not altogether justly. For was it reasonable to employ (s) such immense sums, as were designed only for the support of the war, in superfluous buildings and vain decorations? And would it not have been better to have eased the allies of a part of their contributions, which under the government of Pericles, were raised near one third above what they were before?

Cimon also took care to adorn the city. But besides that the money he laid out was part of the booty he had taken from the enemy, and was not the heart's-blood and substance of the people; the expence was very moderate, and confined either to such works as were absolutely necessary, as the port, the walls and fortifications of the city; are of very great use to the citizens; such as the porticos and public walks; the places of exercise, as the academy, the usual residence of the poets, and celebrated retreat of the philosophers. This place

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* They amounted to above ten millions.

he took a peculiar care to make more commodious and agreeable; and by this slight expence, gave occasion to those learned discourses, which were so deserving of a free people, and derived so much honour to the city of Athens, from all after-ages.

He had heaped up immense riches, but made such an use of them, as might make christians ashamed; giving largely to all the poor he met with, distributing cloaths to such as wanted them, and inviting the necessitous citizens of Athens to eat at his table. What comparison is there, says Plutarch, between the table of Cimon, which was plain, frugal, popular, and, at a small expence, fed every day a great number of citizens; and that of Lucullus, which was magnificently served; and more worthy of a Persian grandee, than a citizen of Rome, being designed to gratify at a vast expence, the sensuality of some professed debauchees, whose only merit was a nice palate, and doubtless the art of highly commending the master of the house?

By his military expeditions, Cimon was equal in glory to the most eminent commanders among the Greeks; for no body before him ever carried their arms and conquests so far; and to the bravery and courage he had in common with the rest, he added a prudence and moderation, which were of no less service to his country.

His youth indeed was not unblameable; but the rest of his life covered, and abundantly made amends for his former faults; and where can we find a virtue without blemish?

If such a thing were possible among the heathens, it would be the virtue of Aristides. An extraordinary greatness of soul made him superior to every passion. Interest, pleasure, ambition, resentment, jealousy, were extinguished in him by the love of of virtue and his country. He was a man born for the republic. Provided that was well served, he was unconcerned by whom it was done. The merit of others, instead of offending him, became his

wn by the approbation he gave it. He had a share in all the great victories obtained by the Greeks in his time, without being at all the more haughty on that account. His inclination was not to rule in Athens, but to make Athens rule. And this he effected, not as we have already observed, by fitting out great fleets, and sending vast armies into the field, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable to the allies, by his mildness, goodness, humanity, and justice. The disinterestedness he shewed in the management of the public treasure, and the love of poverty, which he carried, if I may venture to say, almost to an excess, are virtues so far superior to the practice of our age, that they scarce seem credible to us. In a word, and we may hence judge of the real merit of Aristides, if Athens had always been governed by commanders like him, and had been content to enjoy the honour of being mistress of Greece, and with preserving the peace and happiness of her neighbours, she would have been at the same time the terror of her enemies, the delight of her allies, and the admiration of the whole world.

Themistocles made no scruple to use tricking and subtlety in compassing his designs, and was not always firm and constant in his undertakings: But for Aristides, his conduct and principles were always uniform, stedfast in the pursuit of whatever he thought just, and incapable of the least falshood or shadow of flattery, disguise or fraud, no not in jest.

He had one maxim, of the greatest importance to all such as would enter into public employments, who are too apt to rely upon their friends, and their intrigues; and this was, that every true citizen and man of probity should place his whole credit in doing and advising, upon all occasions, whatever was just and honest. He spoke thus, from observing that the great credit of their friends, induced most persons in office to abuse their power, by committing unjust actions.

Nothing could be more admirable than the behaviour of Aristides before the battle of Marathon, or more different from our way of thinking and acting at present. The command of the army being divided between ten Athenian generals, who had each their particular day to preside over the rest, Aristides was the first to give up his command to Miltiades, as the person of the greatest ability among them, and engaged this colleagues to do the same by representing to them, that it was not shameful, but great and salutary, to submit to superior merit. And by thus uniting the whole authority in a single chief, he enabled Miltiades to gain a great victory over the Persians.

There is one quality very extraordinary, which belongs to all the four great men I have been speaking of, and deserves to be carefully taken notice of by a master, and to be pointed out to his scholars; and that is, their facility in sacrificing their own private resentments to the good of the public. Their hatred had nothing implacable in it, no rancour, no fury, as among the Romans. The safety of the state reconciles them, without leaving any jealousy or gall behind it; and far from secretly crossing the designs of a former rival, every one concurs with zeal to the success of his enterprises, and the advancement of his glory.

This quality, this characteristic, is one of the noblest, most difficult, and most superior to human nature, that we meet with in history; and, I may venture to say, the most necessary and important for persons in high stations, in whom it is but too common to observe a narrowness of soul, which they are pleased to call great and noble, and puts them upon being captious, nice, and jealous, in point of command, incompatible with their colleagues, solely attentive to their own glory, always ready to sacrifice the public to their private interest, and suffering their rivals to commit faults, that they may turn them to their own advantage.

But

But, we shall see a quite different conduct in the persons whose characters we are now examining.

Themistocles, not long before the battle of Salamis, finding the Athenians regretted Aristides, and were desirous of his return, though he was the principal author of his banishment, made no scruple to recal him by a decree in favour of all exiles, which allowed them to return and assist their country with their counsel, and defend it with their valour.

(t) Aristides thus recalled. went some time after to find Themistocles in his tent, and gave him an important piece of advice, upon which the success of the war, and the safety of Greece depended. His discourse deserved to have been engraved in letters of Gold. "Themistocles, says he, if we are wise, we shall henceforward lay aside that vain and childish dissension, which has hitherto set us at variance; and by a most noble and useful emulation, strive who shall take the most pains in serving our country; you, by commanding and doing the duty of a discreet and good officer; and I, by obeying and assisting you with my person and advice." He then communicated to him what he judged necessary in the present conjuncture. Themistocles, astonished at his greatness of soul, and so noble a frankness of sentiments, was ashamed to be outdone by his rival; and freely owning it, promised from henceforth to imitate his generous example, and, if possible, exceed it in his future conduct. Nor did all these professions end in mere compliment, but were made good by constant effects; and Plutarch observes, that during the whole time Themistocles commanded, (u) Aristides assisted him upon every occasion with his advice and credit, joyfully taking pains to promote the glory of his greatest enemy, through the motive of advancing the public good. And when afterwards the disgrace

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(t) Herod. lib. 8. Plut. in vit. Themist. et. Aristid.

(u) Πάντα συνεπραγματοποιεῖ καὶ συνεβάλλεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ τὸν ἔχθιστον. Plut. in vit. Aristid.

of Themistocles gave him a proper opportunity for revenge, (u) instead of resenting the ill treatment he had received from him, he constantly refused to join with his enemies, as far from secretly rejoicing over the misfortune of his adversary, as he had been before from being afflicted at his good success.

Is there in history any thing more intirely grand and exalted than what we have now related? Or do we find any thing elsewhere which may justly be compared with this noble and generous behaviour of Aristides? It is deservedly admired as one of the most beautiful circumstances in the life of Agricola, that he employed all his abilities and care to augment the glory of his generals; but here it was to advance that of the greatest enemy. How far superior in merit!

We have also in Cimon a great instance of the virtue I am describing, who being actually banished by ostracism, came notwithstanding to take his place in his tribe to fight against the Lacedæmonians, who, till then, had been constantly his friends, and with whom he stood charged of holding private intelligence. And when his enemies had obtained an order from the public council, to forbid his going to the battle, he withdrew, and conjured his friends to approve his innocence and their own by their actions. They took the armour from Cimon, placed it in his post, and fought with so much valour, that the most part of them lost their lives, leaving the Athenians under the utmost regret for their loss, and severely repenting the unjust accusations they had thrown upon them.

The Athenians upon the loss of a considerable battle, recalled Cimon; and Pericles himself, as we have before observed, was the person who drew up
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(u) Οὐκ ἐμνησικακήσεν εὐδὲ ἀπέλαυσεν ἐχθρὰ δυσυχῆνός, ὡς περ εὐδ' ἐνιμερῆσι πρότερον ἐφθόνησε. Ibid.

(x) Nec Agricola unam in suam famam gestis exultavit: ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, vereundia in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat. Tacit. in vit. Agric. cap. 8.

and proposed the decree, by which he was recalled, though he had before contributed more than any other to his banishment. Upon which Plutarch makes a beautiful reflection, that wholly confirms all that I have advanced upon this subject. Pericles, says he, used his whole interest to bring back his rival; "so much
" were the quarrels of the citizens moderated by the
" views of the public advantage, and their animosities
" always ready to be laid aside as soon as the good of
" the state required it; and so much did their ambi-
" tion, which is the most likely and most violent of pas-
" sions, conform and give way to the necessities and
" interests of their country." Cimon, upon his return, without complaining of his former ill usage, or taking much upon him, and without seeking to prolong a war, which made him necessary to his country, readily executed the service expected from him, and immediately procured the peace it wanted.

But nothing more clearly discovers the inward sentiments of Pericles, his good nature and aversion to all hatred and revenge, than an expression which fell from him a little before his death. His friends were sitting round him as he lay sick, and not thinking that he heard them, were talking among themselves in commendation of his government, and the nine trophies he had gained, when he interrupted them, and wondered, he said, they should dwell so much upon matters, in which fortune had so great a share, and were common to him with many other generals, and forgot the greatest and most beautiful circumstance of his life, that no Athenian had ever wore mourning on his account.

The several particulars I have here mentioned, concerning the four great men, who were the ornaments of the Athenian republic, may in my opinion, be very useful, not only to such young persons as are destined to fill considerable places in the state, but to people of all conditions whatsoever: For they let us see, how low and mean spirited it is to

be envious and jealous of the virtue and reputation of others; and, on the other hand, how noble and generous, to value, love, and commend the merit of our equals, colleagues, competitors, and even enemies, if we have any. And these passages of history should make the greater impression upon us, as they are not the speculative lessons of philosophy, but duties reduced to practice.

II. Of OSTRACISM.

Ostracism was a sentence among the Athenians, by which they condemned any one to a kind of banishment that was to last ten years, until that term was lessened by the people. The consent of six thousand citizens, at least was required for a condemnation of this kind. They gave their vote, by writing the name of the person upon the shell, in Greek called *ostrakon*, from whence came the name of ostracism. This kind of banishment was not inflicted as a punishment for any crime, nor considered as infamous; (y) the most illustrious citizens, and often men of the greatest probity, were exposed to it. I do not here take upon me to plead or apologize in behalf of ostracism, which as it may be considered under different views, may likewise occasion very different judgments. As this law seemed not only designed against virtue, and to be severe upon merit, it is no wonder that in this view, it should appear extremely odious and offensive to every rational man. This induced Valerius Maximus to charge this custom as the folly and extravagance of the public, in punishing the greatest virtues as criminal, and repaying the services done to the state with banishment. (z) *Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire beneficiaque injuriis rependere?*

With-

(y) Miltiades, Cimon, Aristides, Themistocles, &c.

(z) Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3.

Without attempting, therefore, absolutely to justify ostracism, I shall enquire a little into the reasons of it, and examine the advantages that may arise from it. For I cannot imagine, that so wise a republic as that of Athens, would have so long suffered and authorized a custom founded only on injustice and violence. And what confirms me in this opinion, is, that when this law was abrogated at Athens, it was not done because it was unjust; but because having taken place in the case of a citizen despised by all the world, (he was named Hyperbolus, and lived in the time of Nicias and Alcibiades,) (a) it was thought that ostracism, degraded by this example, would ever after be a dishonour to a man of probity, and injurious to his reputation,

Thus we see, that Tully does not condemn this law with the same severity as Valerius Maximus; and that, pleading against the banishment of Sextius, though it was his interest to decry all banishments, he contents himself with accusing the Athenians of lightness and temerity. Plutarch speaks of it in several places in a very favourable manner, at least without censure or reproach, as we shall see by and by. And this inclines me to believe, that Valerius Maximus judged very superficially of this law, and was too easily prejudiced by some inconveniencies attending it, without considering thoroughly the advantages that might arise from it. We shall therefore now examine what these advantages might be.

1. It was a very useful barrier against tyranny in a state purely democratical, where liberty, which is the sole and sovereign law of it, cannot subsist, but by equality. It was difficult for the people not to

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(a) Ἐκ τούτου δυσχερῆνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβριζόμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ προπιπτακισμένοι ἀφ᾽ ἑκὲς παντὶ ᾧ, καὶ κατέλυον. Plut. in Arist.

(b) Apud Athenienses, homines Græcos, longè a nostrorum hominum gravitate disjunctos, non deerant qui rempublicam contra populi temeritatem defenderent, cum omnes, qui ita fecerant, è civitate expellerentur. Pro. Sext. n. 141.

be suspicious of the power of such citizens, as had raised themselves above the rest, (c) and whose ambition, so natural to mankind, gave a just alarm to a republic extremely jealous of its independency. It was proper to take measures at a distance for bringing them back into the sphere, from whence their great abilities or great services seemed to remove them. (d) They had still in remembrance the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, who had been only private citizens like the rest. They had Ephesus, Thebes, Corinth, Syracuse, and almost all the cities of Greece before their eyes, which were all brought under subjection to tyrants, at a time when the citizens were under no apprehensions of losing their liberty. And who could be sure, that Themistocles, Ephialtes, the elder Demosthenes, Alcibiades, and even Cimon and Pericles, would have refused to reign at Athens, if they had been capable of attempting it, as Pausanias and Lyfander did at Lacedæmon, and so many others in their republic, and as Cæsar did at Rome?

2. This sort of banishment had nothing shameful or ignominious in it. It was not, says Plutarch, a punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, but a precaution judged necessary against a pride and power, which became formidable; it was a mild and gentle remedy against that envy, which is apt to form jealousies and suspicions of too great merit; and, in a word, the certain means of setting the minds of the people at ease, without carrying them to any violence against the party banished. For he preserved the enjoyment and disposal of his estate; possessed all the rights and privileges of a citizen, with the hope of being restored within a fixed time, which might be abridged by abundance of incidents. So that the engagements which tied the banished man

(c) Τῇ δυνάμει βασιῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἐσώτῃα δημοκρατικὴν ἀντιμωχίᾳ. Plut. in vit. Themist.

(d) Athenienses, propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam extimebant, Corn. Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

man to his country, were not broken by the ostracism; he was not driven to despair, nor forced upon extremities. Thus we see by the event, that neither Aristides, Cimon, or even Themistocles, or any of the rest, entered into engagements against their country, but, on the contrary, always continued faithful and zealous for it. Whereas the Romans for want of such a law, extorted imprecations from Camillus against his country, engaged Coriolanus to take up arms against it, as Sertorius did afterwards against his inclination. They came at last to declare a citizen an enemy to the state, as in the case of Cæsar, Mark Anthony and several others; after which there was no remedy but in despair, nor any assurance of their own preservation, but in violence and open war.

3. By this law, the Athenians were also preserved from the civil wars, which so much disturbed and shook the common wealth of Rome. With such a law as this, the Gracchi, would not have been assassinated. The Romans might perhaps have spared themselves the wars of Marius and Sylla, of Cæsar and Pompey, and the fatal consequences of the triumvirate. But as Rome wanted this mild and humane remedy, (e) as Plutarch phrases it, so proper to calm, soften, and assuage envy; whenever the two factions of the senate and people were a little enflamed, there was nothing left but to decide the quarrel by arms and violence. And this at last drew upon Rome the loss of their liberty.

Perhaps, therefore, we may have good reason to differ in our judgment concerning this law, from Valerius Maximus and some others, who were offended only at the abuse of it, without fully examining into the real motives of this establishment and its advantages, and without considering that there is no law so good, but it may have its inconveniencies in the application.

III. EMU-

(e) Παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος φρόνη και κουφισμός.

III. EMULATION in ARTS and SCIENCES.

Diodorus Siculus, in the preface of the twelfth book of his history, makes a very judicious reflection upon the time and events I have now been speaking of. He observes that Greece was never threatened with greater danger, than when Xerxes, after having subdued all the Asiatic Greeks, brought against it such a formidable army, as seemed to make the same fate an inevitable event. And yet it was never more glorious or triumphant, than after the expedition of Xerxes, which properly speaking, was the epocha from whence to date the prosperity of Greece, and was in particular the occasion and origin of that glory which made the name of Athens so famous. For the following fifty years produced in that city a multitude of men eminent in every kind of merit, in arts, sciences, war, government and politics.

To confine myself here only to arts and sciences, what carried them in so short a time to so high a degree of perfection, was the rewards and distinctions bestowed on such as excelled in them, which kindled an incredible emulation amongst the men of letters and excellent artists.

Cimon, returning from a glorious campaign, brought back with him to Athens the bones of Theseus. To preserve the memory of this event, the people proposed a prize to be contended for by the tragic poets, which became very famous. Judges chosen by lot where to determine the merit of the performances, and adjudge the crown to the conqueror, amidst the commendations and applauses of the whole assembly. But the archon observing there was great caballing and partiality among the spectators, nominated Cimon himself and nine other generals to be judges. Sophocles, who was then but young, presented his first piece, and gained the prize from *Æschylus*, who till then had been the ho-

honour of the theatre, and incontestibly the best writer. He was unable to survive his glory, left Athens, and retired into Sicily, where he soon after died of grief. As to Sophocles, his reputation continually increased, and never left him, not even in his extreme old age. His children soliciting for a judgment against him, as being superannuated, instead of a defence, he read before the judges a piece he had lately finished, entitled, *Oedipus Coloneus*, and unanimously gained his cause.

The glory of carrying the prize in these disputes, where all sorts of persons took pains to produce something extraordinary, was held so distinguished an honour, as to become the object of the ambition of princes, as we learn from the history of the two Dionysiiuses of Syracuse.

(f) 'Twas a glorious day, and the most affecting delight to Herodotus, when all Greece, assembled at the Olympic games, declared, whilst they heard him read his history, that they thought they heard the Muses speaking by his mouth; which occasioned the nine books of his work, being called by the name of the nine Muses. And the case was the same with the orators and poets, who spoke their orations, and read their poems there in public. How great a spur to glory must the applauses have been, which were received before the eyes and with the acclamations of almost all the people of Greece!

There was no less emulation amongst the artisans of merit; and this was the reason, that under Pericles all arts were carried in so short a time to the highest degree of perfection.

(g) 'Twas he that built the Odæon, or theatre of music, and made the decree, by which it was ordained, that the games and disputes for prizes of music, should be celebrated on the feast of the Panathenæa; and being chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he thought it no dishonour to regulate and as-

sign

(f) Lucian. in Herodot.

(g) Plut. in vit. Pericl.

sign the laws and conditions of this kind of disputes.

Who has not heard of the name of Phidias, and the fame of his works? This celebrated sculptor, who was more sensible to glory than interest, ventured, notwithstanding the extreme delicacy of the Athenians in this particular, to insert his name, or at least the resemblance of his countenance, on a famous statue; as judging he could have no better recompence for all his labour, than to share an immortality with it, whereof he had been the author and cause.

We know with what ardour the painters entered the lists against one another, and how eagerly they disputed for the prize. Their works were exposed in public, and judges that were alike excellent and incorruptible, adjudged the victory to the most deserving.

Parrhasius and Zeuxis contended in this manner with each other. The latter had drawn grapes so exactly alike, that the birds came and pecked at them. The other had drawn a curtain. Zeuxis, proud of the mighty suffrage of the birds, with an insulting air, bid him draw aside his curtain, and shew what he had done. (i) He soon found his mistake, and yielded the palm to his rival, ingenuously confessing himself conquered, for he had only deceived the birds, whereas Parrhasius had deceived him, as great a master as was in the art.

What I have observed of the passion, excited by a single man in Athens for arts and sciences, may shew us of what service emulation may be to a state, when applied to things useful to the public, and restrained and kept within just bounds. How great an honour has Greece derived from the great artists and learned men she produced in such abundance, whose works, superior to the injury of time and malignity

(h) Plut. in vit. Pericl.

(i) Intellecto errore, concessit palmam ingenuo pudore, quoniam ipse volucres sefellisset, Parrhasius autem se artificem. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10.

malignity of envy, are still looked upon, and ever will be as the rule of a good taste and model of perfection? Honours and rewards annexed to merit, rouse and awaken industry, animate the soul, and raise mankind, as it were, from stupefaction and lethargy, and in a short time fill a kingdom with illustrious persons of every kind. The late M. Colbert, minister of state, set apart forty thousand crowns a year to be distributed among such as excelled in any art or science; and he often told (k) some that were admitted to intimacy with him, upon whose intelligence and recommendation he relied in this particular, that if there was a man of merit in the kingdom that suffered, or was in want, it was to be charged upon their consciences, who would be answerable for it. Such expences as those never ruin a state; and a minister who has a sincere love for his prince and country, can scarce serve them better, than by procuring them such inestimable advantages, and so lasting a glory, at so small an expence. For, as (l) Horace has said upon another occasion, when men of probity are under any necessity, friends may be purchased at a cheap rate;

Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.

THE THIRD PIECE, *extracted from the GRECIAN HISTORY.*

Of the LACEDÆMONIAN GOVERNMENT.

THERE is nothing perhaps in all profane history better attested, nor at the same time more incredible, than the Lacedæmonian government, and the discipline established by Lycurgus. This wise legislator was son to one of the two kings of Sparta,

(k) Perrault, & M. l'Abbé Gallois,

(l) Hor. lib. 1 Ep. 12.

Sparta, who governed jointly; and might easily have obtained the crown, if he had pleased, upon the death of his elder brother, who left no male issue behind him. But he thought himself obliged to wait till the queen his sister was brought to bed, who was then with child; and, upon her happy delivery, he took upon him to be tutor and guardian to the infant against the attempts of his own mother, who had offered to make away with her son, if Lycurgus would marry her.

He formed the bold design of thoroughly reforming the Lacedæmonian government; and that he might be the better enabled to make wise regulations in it, he judged it expedient to take several journeys, to inform himself personally of the different manners of nations, and advise with such persons as were best skilled and most experienced in the arts of government. He began with the isle of Crete, which was famous for its rigid and severe laws; from whence he passed into Asia, where the opposite extreme prevailed; and lastly he went into Egypt, the seat of the sciences, wisdom, and good counsel.

His long absence served only to make him the more desired by his citizens; and the kings themselves pressed him to return, as being sensible they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within the bounds of duty and obedience. At his return to Sparta, he took pains to change the whole form of the government, upon a persuasion that some particular laws would produce no great effect. He began with gaining over the principal men of the city, to whom he communicated his views; and being fully assured of their concurrence, he came into the public assembly, attended by a body of soldiers, to terrify and intimidate all such as should oppose his design.

The new form of government he introduced at Lacedæmon, may be reduced to three principal institutions.

The

The first INSTITUTION. The SENATE.

The greatest and most considerable of all the new institutions of Lycurgus, was that of the senate, which, as Plato observes, tempering the too absolute power of the kings, by an authority equal to theirs, was the principal cause of the safety of the state. For whereas before it was always tottering, sometimes inclining towards tyranny, through the violence of their kings, and sometimes to a democracy, through the too absolute power of the people; the senate served as a counterpoise to keep it in equilibrium, and give it a firm and certain situation; (m) the eight and twenty senators, of which it was composed, adhering to the kings, when the people was for assuming too much power; and going over on the other hand, to the side of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too high.

Lycurgus having thus qualified the government, those who came after him found the power of the thirty, who composed the senate, still too strong and powerful; for which reason they gave it a curb, by opposing the authority of the (n) ephori to it, above an hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The ephori were fifty in number, and continued but one year in office. They had a right to arrest the kings, and commit them to prison, as happened in the case of Pausanias. These ephori were first instituted under king Theopompus. And as his wife reproached him with leaving his children a far less authority than he had received, No, (o) says he, *I shall leave them a much greater, as it will be more lasting.*

The

(m) This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

(n) That is, comptrollers, inspectors.

(o) Μειζω μὲν ἔν, εἶπεν, ὅσῳ χρόνῳ τερον.

The second INSTITUTION. The DIVISION of the LANDS, and PROHIBITION of GOLD and SILVER MONEY.

The second institution of Lycurgus, and the boldest of all, was the division of the lands. He judged it absolutely necessary, for the establishment of peace and good order in the republic. Most of the inhabitants of the country were so poor, that they had not an inch of ground belonging to them, and all the wealth lay in the hands of a few private persons. That he might therefore banish insolence, envy, fraud, and luxury from the government, with two other evils still greater and of longer standing than these, I mean indigence and excessive riches; he persuaded all the citizens to give up their lands in common, and to make a new distribution of them, that they might live together in a perfect equality, without any other pre-eminence and honour, than what was given to virtue and merit.

This was immediately done. He divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed amongst the people of the country; and made nine thousand parts of the territory of Sparta, which he distributed amongst so many citizens. 'Tis said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and crossing the lands of Laconia, which had just been reaped, observing the heaps of the sheaves to be perfectly equal, he turned towards those that followed him, and said to them smiling, *Is not Laconia like the inheritance of several brethren, who have just divided it between them?*

After he had thus divided their immoveable estates, he endeavoured to make them also divide their other wealth, that there might be no kind of inequality among them. But finding he should meet with more difficulty in this, if he attempted it openly, he went another way to work, by sapping the very foundation of avarice. For, first of all, he
prohi-

prohibited all gold and silver money, and ordered that only iron money should be in use; and this he made so heavy and of so little value, that a man must have a cart with two oxen to carry the sum of ten (p) *minæ*, and a whole chamber to lock it up in.

Further he drove all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta, which indeed if he had not done, most of them must have dropt of themselves, and been lost with the old money; for the artificers would not have known what to have done with their work; and this iron money was not current in the other parts of Greece, where instead of setting a value upon it, they only laughed at it, and made it the subject of their raillery.

The third INSTITUTION. PUBLIC MEALS.

Lycurgus, resolving to make a still more vigorous war upon softness and luxury, and intirely to root up the love of riches, made a third institution relating to meals. That he might banish thence all costliness and magnificence, he ordered that the citizens should all dine together upon the same victuals which were prescribed by the law, and expressly prohibited them from eating in their own private houses.

By this institution of common meals, and a frugal simplicity in diet, we may say that he changed in a manner the nature of riches (q) by leaving nothing in them to make them desirable, or likely to be stolen, or even capable of enriching those who possessed them; for there was no longer any opportunity of using or enjoying their wealth, nor even of making a shew of it, since the poor and rich were to eat together in the same place; and no one was allowed to come into the common halls, after having satisfied his hunger with other food; for whoever refused to eat and drink, was carefully marked out, and reproached with his intemperance or too great delicacy,

(p) Five hundred livres.

(q) Τὸν πλοῦτον ἀνυλον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄζηλον, καὶ ἀπλετον ἀπειργάσατο. Plut.

delicacy, which induced him to despise these public meals,

The rich were extremely insensd at this institution; and it was upon this occasion, in a popular insurrection, that a young man named Alcander struck out one of Lucurgus's eyes with a cudgel. The people enraged at such a violence, gave up the young man into Lycurgus's hand, who well knew how to be revenged of him, for he treated him with so much mildness and good nature, that, from being very hot and passionate, he soon brought him to be very calm and discreet.

The tables contained each about fifteen persons, and before any one could be admitted, he must be agreeable to the rest of the company. Every one sent in monthly a bushel of meal, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and an half of figs, and some small matter of their money for the dressing and seasoning of the provisions. Every one was obliged to be present at the public meal; and King Agis, a long while after, returning from a glorious expedition, and dispensing with himself from doing so that he might dine with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished. Children were allowed also to be present also at these meals, and were brought thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they heard grave discourses upon government, and saw nothing but what was instructive. The conversation was often enlivened by refined wit and raillery, but such as was never low or shocking; and as soon as any one was perceived to grow uneasy at it, they always left off. Here also they learned to keep a secret; and when a young man entered the hall, the eldest would say to him, pointing to the door, *Nothing of what is said here, goes out there.*

The most elegant part of their food was what they called *the black broth*, and the old men preferred it to whatever else was served up to table. (r) Dionysius

(r) Ubi cum tyrannus cœnavisset, Dionysius, negavit se jure illo nigro, quod cœnæ caput erat, delectatum. Tum is, qui illa coxerat: Minime

the tyrant, being invited to one of these entertainments, seemed to think quite otherwise of it, and thought it a very insipid ragout. I do not wonder at that, says the person who made it, for there wanted the seasoning. What seasoning? replies the tyrant. The chace, sweat, fatigue, hunger and thirst; for with these, adds the cook, we season our provisions.

IV. Other INSTITUTIONS.

Lycurgus looked upon the education of children as the most important concern of a legislator. It was his great principle, that they belonged more properly to the state, than their parents; and for this reason he would not suffer them to be brought up as they pleased, but obliged the public to take care of their education, that they might be formed upon constant and uniform principles, and early inspired with the love of virtue and their country.

As soon as a child was born, it was visited by the elders of every tribe; and if they found it well made, strong and lively, they ordered it to be brought up, and assigned it one of the nine thousand portions for its inheritance. If, on the other hand, they found it ill shaped, tender and weakly, and judged it to want health and strength, they condemned it to perish, and caused it to be exposed.

Children were early accustomed not to be difficult or nice about their victuals; not to be afraid in the dark; not to be frightened at their being left alone; not to be peevish, brawling, or crying; to walk bare-foot; to enure themselves to fatigue; (s) to ly upon the bare ground; to wear the same clothes in winter as in summer; to harden themselves against heat and cold.

At
Minime mirum, inquit; condimenta enim desuerunt. Quæ tandem, inquit ille? Labor in venatu, sudor, cursus ab Eurota, fames, sitis. His enim rebus Lacedæmoniorum epulæ condiuntur. Tuscul. quest. 5. n. 98.

(s) Xenophon, in Lacedæm republ.

At seven years old they were distributed into classes, where they were all brought up together under the same discipline. (t) Their education properly speaking, was no more than an apprenticeship to obedience; their legislator being thoroughly convinced, that the surest means of forming citizens submissive to the laws and magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state consists, was to teach children from their infancy to be perfectly obedient to their masters.

Whilst they were at table, the master proposed questions to the boys. As, for instance, *Who is the best man in the city? What say you to such an action?* Their answer was expected to be ready, and attended with a reason and proof conceived in a few words; for they early accustomed them to the Laconic stile, i. e. to a short and concise one. Lycurgus required that the money should be very heavy, and of small value; and that their discourse, on the contrary, should express a great deal in a little compass.

As to letters, they learned no more than was absolutely necessary. All the sciences were banished their country. Their study was only how to obey, to endure labour and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. One of the most worthy and most capable citizens presided over their education, and appointed each class such masters as were generally esteemed for wisdom and probity.

Theft was not only not prohibited the boys, but even commanded; I mean theft of a particular kind, which, properly speaking, had no more of it but the name. I shall explain in my reflections the reasons and views of Lycurgus in allowing it. They crept the most dexterously and cunningly they could into the gardens and public halls, and carried off what herbs or victuals they were able; if they were discovered, they were punished for want of skill. It is said, that one of them having stole a young fox, hid it under his clothes, and let it tear into his belly with

(t) Ὡς τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην ὑποταγῆς.

its teeth and claws, without crying out, till he fell down dead upon the spot.

The patience and resolution of the Lacedæmonian youth were put to the severest trial upon the celebration of a feast in honour of Diana, surnamed *Orthia*, (u) when the children, in the sight of their parents, and in presence of the whole city, suffered themselves to be lashed till the blood ran down upon the altar of that inhuman goddess, and sometimes expired under the blows, without crying out, or so much as uttering a groan. (x) And their own fathers, who stood by, and saw them all covered over with blood and wounds, were the persons who exhorted them to hold out constantly to the end. Plutarch assures us, that he saw several children with his own eyes lose their lives in this cruel diversion. Hence (y) Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man, who had endured three good blows of a cudgel without complaining, say, 'Tres plagas Spartanâ nobilitate concoxi.'

The most usual employment of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and the different exercises of the body. They were prohibited of the exercise of any mechanical art. The *Ilotes*, who were a kind of slaves, cultivated their lands, and paid them a certain revenue for them.

It was Lycurgus's will, that his citizens should have a great deal of leisure. They had common halls, where they met together for conversation. And though their discourse frequently turned upon grave and serious subjects, it was seasoned with a wit and agreeableness, which instructed and corrected, whilst

(u) *Spartæ pueri ad aram sic verberibus accipiuntur, ut multus e visceribus sanguis exeat, nonnunquam etiam, ut cum ibi essent audiebam, ad necem; quorum non modo nemo exclamavit unquam, sed ne ingemuit quidem. Cic. lib. 2. Tusc. quæst. n. 34*

(x) *Ipsi illos patres adhortantur, ut ictus flagellorum fortiter perferant, et laceros ac semianimes rogant, perseverent vulnera præbere vulneribus. Senec. de provid. cap. 4*

(y) *Od. 7. lib. 1:*

whilst it diverted them. They were seldom alone; but were accustomed to live like bees, in swarms, and always around their chiefs. (y) The love of their country, and the common good, was their prevailing passion. They thought they were not to live for themselves, but for their country. Pedareetus not having had the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred, who held a certain place of distinction in the city, returned home very cheerful and easy, saying, *He was overjoyed to find there were three hundred better men in Sparta than himself.*

Every thing at Sparta inspired the love of virtue, and hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, and even the public inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many precepts and living examples, not to become as virtuous as Pagans could be. It was to preserve this happy habitude in them, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should return with foreign manners, and licentious customs, which would soon have inspired them with a disgust for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. He likewise expelled all foreigners the city, who came only for curiosity, and not out of some useful or profitable intention; apprehending that they might bring with them the faults and vices of their country; and fully convinced, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of the city against corruption of manners, than against plagues and a pestilence.

Properly speaking, the business and exercise of the Lacedæmonians was war. Every thing had a tendency that way, and breathed nothing but arms. Their manner of life was far less rigid in the field, than at home; and they were the only people in the world, to whom war was a season of repose and refreshment; because then, the obligations to that hard

(y) Εἰσῆλθεν τὸς πολίτας, μικροῦ διὰ ἑξῆς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐθουσιμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὅλως εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.

and severe discipline, which they observed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and greater liberty allowed them. With them the first and most inviolable law of war, (z) as Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to turn their backs, how far superior soever in number the enemy might be ; never to quit their post ; never to surrender their arms ; in a word to conquer or die. (a) And hence it was that a mother, advised her son, who was setting out for a campaign, to return with his buckler, or upon his buckler ; and another, hearing that her son was slain in battle, in defence of his country, replied coldly, (b) *It was for that end I brought him into the world.* And this was the common disposition of the Lacedæmonians. (c) After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to them, the parents of those who were killed in fighting, congratulated one another, and ran to the temple to thank the gods, because their children had done their duty ; whereas the parents of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. Such as fled, were, ever after, infamous at Sparta. They were not only excluded all offices and employments, the assemblies and shows, but it was a disgrace to marry a daughter to them, or take a daughter from them ; and they were publicly affronted upon every occasion, without any remedy for the injury offered.

They never went to battle, till they had implored the assistance of the gods by sacrifices and public prayers ; and then they marched against the enemy in full confidence, as being thoroughly assured of the divine protection ; or to use the expression of Plutarch, as if God were present, and fought with them ;

ὡς τῷ Θεῷ συναπμρόντης.

When they had broke their enemies, and put them to flight, they pursued them no farther than was ne-

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cess-

(z) Herod. lib. 6.

(a) Ἄλλη προσαναδισῶσα τῷ παιδί την ἀσπίδα, καὶ παρακινεμένη. Τεκνον, ἔφη, ἢ ἐπὶ τας.

They sometimes brought back such as were slain upon their buckler.

(b) Cic. l. 1. Tusc. Quæst. n. 102. (c) Plut. in vit. Agæ.

cessary to secure the victory ; after which they retired, as judging it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces such as yielded or made no resistance. And this was not less useful than honourable to them; for their enemies, knowing that all that opposed were put to the sword, and that only such as ran away escaped, generally preferred flight to resistance.

After the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by use, and the form of government he had established, seemed strong enough to support itself, without any other assistance; (d) as Plato says of God, that having finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it first move with such harmony and exactitude : So, this wise legislator, charmed with the grandeur and beauty of its laws, found a double satisfaction in seeing them subsist alone, and make so happy a progress.

But, desiring to make them as immortal and unchangeable as human prudence would admit, he told the people there was one point still remaining, more important and essential than all the rest, about which he would consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time, he obliged them by an oath to keep up the form of government he had established, till such time as he should return. When he came to Delphos, he enquired of the god, whether his laws were good, and tended to make the Spartans happy and virtuous. Apollo answered, that his laws were perfect; and that, so long as Sparta should observe them, it would be the most glorious city in the world, and enjoy entire felicity. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta, and judging his ministry accomplished, he died voluntary at Delphos, by abstaining from food. He was of opinion, that the death of great men and ministers should not be insignificant or useless to the commonwealth, but a

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(d) This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe, that he had read what Moses said of God, upon the creation of the world. *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.* Gen. i. 31.

consequence of their administration, one of their most considerable actions, and as honourable, if not more so, than all the rest of their lives. He thought therefore, to die in this manner, would be confirming and crowning all the services he had done his fellow citizens during his life, as his death would oblige them to observe his ordinance for ever, which they had sworn to observe inviolably till his return.

The heathens were generally of opinion, that every man had a right to put himself to death whensoever he pleased.

REFLECTIONS *upon the* GOVERNMENT *of* SPARTA
and the LAWS *of* LYCURGUS.

I. THINGS LAUDABLE *in the* LAWS *of* LYCURGUS.

Were we to judge only by the event, there must have been a large fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus, since so long as they were observed at Sparta, which was for above five hundred years, that city was so powerful and flourishing. They were, says (e) Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta, less a form of government and civil administration, than the conduct and rules of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercises of virtue. Or rather, adds the same author, as the poets feign of Hercules, that with his lion's skin and club only he ran through the world, and purged it of robbers and tyrants: So Sparta, with a (f) simple roll of parchment, and a sorry cloke, gave law to all Greece, which willingly submitted to their empire, threw down tyrannies and usurpations, put an end to wars at their pleasure, and calmed seditions, most frequently without taking up arms, and by the

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(e) Οὐ πόλις ἢ Σπάρτη πολιτίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα.

(f) This was what the Lacedæmonians called scytale, a roll of leather or parchment turned round a staff, wherein the orders of the public to the generals, were written, as it were, in cypher.

dispatch of a single ambassador, who no sooner appeared, than all the states in subjection ranged themselves around him, like bees about their king; so great an awe and reverence had the justice and good government of that city imprinted on all mankind.

I. *The NATURE of the SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.*

There is a reflection in Plutarch, at the close of the life of Lycurgus, which is itself a great elogium upon this wise legislator. He says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all the rest, who have undertaken to treat of the establishment of civil government have formed their schemes upon Lycurgus's plan; with this difference, that they went no farther than mere description; whereas Lycurgus, without stopping at ideas and projects, reduced his inimitable designs to practice, and formed a whole city of philosophers.

To succeed the better, and to establish a republic as perfect as possible, he in a manner blended together whatever was to be found in any kind of government, that seemed most conducive to the interest of the republic, by qualifying one with the other, and balancing the inconveniencies of each in particular by the advantages arising from the union of all together. Sparta was in some respects monarchical, from the authority of her kings; the council of the thirty, or senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power the people had of nominating the senators, and giving a sanction to the laws, was a branch of democratical government. The institution of the ephori afterwards, corrected what was amiss in the first regulations, and supplied whatever could be wanting. Plato, in more than one passage, admires the wisdom of Lycurgus in the establishment of the senate, which was equally beneficial to the kings and people; as by this means, the law became the measure of the regal power, and the people's obedience; or as Plato says in the note at
bot-

bottom, *the laws became the sovereigns of men, and not men the tyrants of the laws.* (g)

2. *The equal DIVISION of LANDS, and PROHIBITION of GOLD and SILVER MONEY.*

The design of Lycurgus, in making an equal distribution of lands amongst the citizens, and banishing luxury, avarice, quarrels, and dissensions from Sparta, at the same time that he prohibited the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a fine scheme of a republic, but impossible to be executed, if we did not learn from history, that Sparta subsisted in this state for several ages. Could he conceive, that he could ever have prevailed upon the rich and opulent to give up all their stores and revenues, to blend themselves with the poor in every circumstance, to submit to a painful and severe regimen of life, and in a word, to forbear the use of every thing they considered before as essential to the ease and happiness of life? and yet this Lycurgus brought about.

Such an establishment would be the less surprising, if it had subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know it survived him many ages. Xenophon, in the panegyric he has left upon Agesilaus, and Tully in one of his orations, takes notice, that the Lacedæmonians were the only people in the world, who made no alterations in their discipline and laws for the course of so many ages. *Soli*, says he, speaking of the Lacedæmonians, ‘*toto orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.*’ There is good reasons to believe, that, in Tully’s time, the discipline of Sparta, as well as its power, was very much enfeebled and diminished: But all historians agree, that it was kept up in its full force till the reign of Agis, under whom Lyfander, who, though incapable himself of being dazzled or corrupted by

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gold,

(g) Νόμος ἐπεὶ δὴ κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς των ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἀνθρώποι τυράννοι νόμων. Plut. epist. 8.

gold, introduced luxury into his country, and a fondness for riches, by carrying thither the immense sums of gold and silver he had gained by his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus. This event well deserves to be here taken notice of.

(h) Lyfander having got great spoils at the taking of Athens, sent all the gold and silver to Lacedæmon. They held a council, to debate whether or not they should receive it; a rare and excellent deliberation, and the only instance of the kind to be met with in history! The wisest and most understanding men of Sparta, adhering strictly to the law, were of opinion, (i) that this gold and silver should be thrown out of the city with horror and execration, as a fatal plague, and a dangerous allurements to all kinds of mischief. But others, and the far greater number, proposed a middle way, and the expedient was followed. They ordered the gold and silver to be retained, but to be only employed in the public treasury, and affairs of state; and that if any private man should be found to have any of it, he should immediately be put to death. (k) They were imprudent and blind enough to imagine, says Plutarch, that it was sufficient to hinder gold and silver from entering into their houses, by placing the law and the fear of punishment as a centinel at their doors; whilst they left the hearts of their citizens open to the admiration and desire of riches and introduced a strong passion for accumulating them, by making it to be considered as great and honourable to become rich.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound the Lacedæmonians gave to the laws of their legislator. It was the consequence of

(h) Plut. in Lyfand.

(i) Ἀποδοσκοπιῦσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμης.

(k) Οἱ δὲ ταῖς μὲν οἰκίαις τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπως οὐ πάρεσιν εἰς αὐτὰς νόμισμα, τὸν φόβον ἐπέσχεσαν φύλακα καὶ τὸν νόμον· αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεκπλήκτους καὶ ἀπαθείς πρὸς ἀργύριον οὐ διτήρησαν ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ζῆλον, ὥς σπεινοῦ δὴ τινος καὶ μεγάλου, τοῦ πλετεῖν ἀπαντας.

of the violation of another more fundamental law. Ambition paved the way to avarice. The desire of conquest drew after it a desire for riches, without which they could no longer think of extending their dominion. The principal end of Lycurgus in the institution of his laws, and especially in the prohibition of gold and silver, was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to bridle and restrain the ambition of the citizens, to disable them from making any conquests, and to force them, in some measure, to confine themselves within the narrow precincts of their own country, without carrying their views or pretensions any farther. In short the government he had established sufficed to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was insufficient to give her dominion over other cities.

The design of Lycurgus was not to make conquerors. To take away all such thoughts from his citizens, though they dwelt in a country surrounded by the sea, (b) he expressly forbid them the use of navigation, the having a fleet, or fighting by sea. And this prohibition they religiously observed for near five hundred years, till after the defeat of Xerxes. Upon that occasion, they resolved to make themselves masters by sea, to keep so formidable an enemy at a distance. But, soon perceiving that these remote and maritime offices of command corrupted the manners of their generals, they readily gave them up, as we have already observed in the case of king Paufanias.

Lycurgus armed his citizens with bucklers and lances only for their own defence, not to enable them to commit wrongs with the greater impunity. (m) he made them a people of soldiers and warriors, that under the protection of their arms, they might

M 4

live

(l) Ἀπείρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς ναυταῖς εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχεῖν. Plut. in mor. Lac.

(m) Οὐ μὲν τοῦ τόγῃ Λυκῆργου κεφάλαιον ἦν τότε πλείων ἡγεμένην ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλει ὅλης νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ἰμονοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν, πρὸς τοῦτο συνέταξε καὶ συνέρμοςεν, ὅπως ἐλευθέριοι καὶ αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ πλείον χρεῖον διατελῶσι. Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, contenting themselves with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and convinced, that a city, no less than a private man, can never hope for solid and lasting happiness by any other means than virtue. Men of corrupt manners, (n) adds Plutarch, who think nothing more valuable than riches, and a powerful and large dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires, which have subdued the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced, that nothing of this kind was necessary to make a people happy. Equity, moderation, liberty, and peace, were the principal end of his policy, which has so justly been the admiration of all ages, as it was an utter enemy to all wrong, violence, ambition, or a desire of ruling and extending the bounds of the Spartan republic. Reflections of this kind, which are frequent in Plutarch's lives, and are the greatest and most valuable beauty, may very much contribute to give youth a true notion of the solid glory of a state really happy, and may early undeceive them in the mistakes they are apt to form of the vain grandeur of those empires, which have swallowed up the kingdoms of the earth; and those famous conquerors, who owe their rise to usurpation and violence.

3. *The excellent EDUCATION of YOUTH.*

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly a very wonderful circumstance; but the method he made use of to make them so lasting, is no less worthy of our admiration; and this was the extraordinary care he took in training up the children of the Lacedæmonians to an exact and severe discipline. For, as Plutarch makes him observe, the religion of an oath would be but a feeble tie, if the laws were not imprinted in their manners by education and habitude, and a regard for his institutions sucked in almost with their milk. And thus we see his
ordi-

(n) Plut. *ibid.* et in vit. Agefil.

ordinances lasted for above five hundred years, (o) like a strong dye, that had penetrated quite through the substance. (p) Tully makes the same remark, and imputes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their good natural disposition, as to the excellent education they received at Sparta. 'Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum naturâ corroborata, verum etiam disciplinâ putatur.' Which shews us how nearly the state is concerned to see its youth brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

It was the great principle of Lycurgus, (q) which Aristotle repeats in express terms, that as children belong to the state, they should be brought up by the state, and according to the intention of the state. For this reason, he required them to be educated publicly and in common, and not left to the fancy of parents, (r) who generally, through a blind indulgence, and mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the body and mind of their children. At Sparta, they were inured from their infancy to labour and fatigue, by the exercises of hunting and running; they were taught to bear hunger and thirst, heat and cold. And, what mothers can hardly be persuaded to believe, all these severe and painful exercises tended to make them healthful and robust, capable of supporting the fatigues of war, to which they were all destined, and actually did so.

4. OBEDIENCE.

But the most excellent branch of the Spartan education was, that it taught children perfectly to obey. (s) Whence the poet Simonides gives this city a magnificent epithet, implying that Sparta alone could

M 5

tame

(o) *Ὅσπερ βαφῇ ἀκράτῃ καὶ ἰσχυρᾷ καθαψαμένης.*

(p) *Orat. pro Flacco, n. 63.*

(q) *Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι νομίζουσιν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ τινα εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως. Δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν νομιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀσκήσιν.* Arist. l. 8. Polit.

(r) *Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes et mentis et corporis frangit.* Quintil. l. 1. c. 2.

(s) *Δαμασσίμβροτος, the tamer of men.*

tame the mind, and render men pliable and submissive to the laws, like horses that are curbed and brought under whilst they are very young. For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his sons to Sparta, (t) that they might learn there the greatest and best of sciences, how to govern and be governed. He had been well instructed in it himself, and knew the full value of it. Plutarch observes, that he did not attain the supreme command (u) like the other kings, without having first perfectly learned to obey; and, for this reason, (x) he was the only one amongst all the Lacedæmonian kings, who had the refined art of agreeing entirely with his subjects, and uniting in his person, with a greatness truly royal, and a natural nobleness of manners, that air of goodness, humanity, and popular affability, which he had derived from his education.

He afterwards gave the most memorable example of submission to the law and public authority, to be found in history; and Xenophon and Plutarch justly prefer it to the most glorious of his other actions. After having gained very considerable victories over the Persians, all Asia being in commotion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt, he determined to fall upon the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions, and was preparing to set out for this great expedition. In the mean while, a messenger arrives to tell him, that Sparta was threatened with a terrible war, that the ephori recalled him to the assistance of his country. Agesilaus immediately sets forward without deliberating a moment, crying out, *Oh wretched Greeks, greater enemies to yourselves than the Barbarians!* A man must have a great respect for public authority, to abandon

(t) Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν.

(u) At Sparta, the children designed for the throne, were excused the severity of their discipline.

(x) Διὸ καὶ πολὺ τῶν βασιλέων εὐαρεστήσατον αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε, τῇ φύσει ἡγεμονικῇ καὶ βασιλικῇ προσκλισηάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τὸ δὴ μοτίκον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

don with so instant an obedience all the conquests he had made, and the future hopes of success, which were almost as certain as the past.

Princes, (x) says Plutarch, generally place their grandeur in commanding others, and being subject to nobody. They often affect an ignorance of their duty, lest the light of reason should subject themselves, and blunt the edge and force of an authority, to which they would willingly set no bounds. Who then, adds Plutarch, shall be the master of kings, who have no other? Why the law, that sovereign queen of gods and men, as Pindar calls it; a law, not written in tables, but engraven on the heart, which will constantly attend upon them, and never forsake them, but exercise a mild though absolute dominion over their minds. An officer stood by the king of Persia's bed-side every morning, to say to him, *Sir, remember you fulfil the ordinances of Oromasdes*: he was the lawgiver of the Persians. The love of justice and the public good says as much to every understanding and sensible prince.

To give us a better notion of the character of the Lacedæmonians, and their perfect submission to the laws, I shall here quote a passage from Herodotus, which well deserves our notice. When Xerxes was upon the point of entering Greece, he asks Demaratus, one of the Spartan kings, who had fled to court for refuge, if he thought the Greeks would dare to withstand him, and desired he would speak his sentiments sincerely. " Since you require it, replies " Demaratus, truth shall speak to you by my mouth. " (y) Greece indeed has ever been bred up in poverty; but has had virtue also, improved by wisdom, " and supported by the vigour of the laws. And from " the use she has made of this virtue, Greece has " equally preserved herself from the inconveniencies " of poverty, and the yoke of subjection. But to confine

(x) Plut. ad principem indoctum.

(y) I shall insert the Greek text of this passage of Herodotus at the close of this article, with some remarks upon a difficult expression in it.

“ fine myself to my own Lacedæmonians, be assured,
 “ that, born and nurtured as they are in liberty,
 “ they will never hearken to any propofal that tends
 “ to flavery. Were they forsaken by all the other
 “ Greeks, and reduced to a troop of a thousand fol-
 “ diers, or even a less number, they would make head
 “ against you, and never decline the battle.” The
 king smiled at his discourse, and as he could not com-
 prehend, how men so free and independent as the La-
 cedæmonians were said to be, without any masters to
 controul them, should be capable of exposing them-
 selves in such a manner to dangers and death; (z)
 “ They are free and independent of every man, re-
 “ plies Demaratus, but they have a law above them
 “ by which they are ruled, and they are more afraid of
 “ that law, than your subjects are of you. Now this
 “ law forbids them ever to fly in battle from their ene-
 “ mies, how great soever the number of them may be,
 “ and commands them to keep firm to their posts, and
 “ either conquer or die.” And it happened as Dema-
 ratus had foretold. Three hundred Lacedæmonians,
 with Leonidas one of the Spartan kings at their head,
 ventured to dispute the passage of Thermopylæ with
 the innumerable army of the Persians. And at last, af-
 ter incredible efforts of valour, overpowered by num-
 bers rather than conquered, they all fell with their
 prince, except one man, who escaped to Lacedæmon,
 where he was used like a coward, and a traitor to his
 country. A magnificent monument was afterwards rai-
 sed for those brave champions of Greece on the very
 spot where they were slain, (a) with this inscription
 made by the poet Simonides:

(z) Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἴοντες, ἢ πάντα ἐλευθεροί εἰσιν· ἔπειτα γὰρ
 σφί δεσπότης, νόμος, τὸν ὑποδείγμαίνουσι πολλῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ
 σοὶ σὶ ποιεῖσι γὰρ τὰ ἂν ἐκείνος ἀνάγη· ἀνάγει δὲ τ’ αὐτὸ αἰεὶ, ἐκ
 ἱὼν φύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντάς ἐν τῇ τά-
 ξει, ἐπικρατεῖν, ἢ ἀπολλυσθαι.

(a) Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos
 Simonides:

Dic, hospes, Spartæ, nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
 Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

Cic. lib. 1. Tuscul. Quæst. n. 101.

Ω ξεῖν, ἀγγεῖλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κεῖμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

i. e. Go, traveller, and say at Lacedæmon, that we lie buried here for obeying her sacred laws. It may not be amiss upon this occasion to give the boys some hint of the simplicity of the old inscriptions.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS upon a PASSAGE in
HERODOTUS.

(b) Τῇ Ἑλλάδι. πένιν μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ συνζόφος ἐστὶ ἀρετῇ δὲ ἐπακ-
τός ἐστι, ἀπότε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμῳ ἰσχυρᾷ. τῇ διαχρεωμένη
ἡ Ἑλλὰς, τήντι πένιν ἀπαμύνεται, καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην.

Valla translates the passage thus, Græcia semper quidem alumna fuit paupertatis, hospes virtutis, quam à sapientia accivit et à severa disciplina; quam usurpans Græcia et paupertatem tuetur, et dominatum.' Harry Stephens, instead of 'paupertatem tuetur,' has put it in the margin 'paupertatem propulsat,' which agrees with the Greek text τὴν πένιν ἀπαμύνεται.

This passage has very much embarrassed me, and is certainly a very difficult one. It seems to imply an evident contradiction, in saying first, that poverty was always held honourable in Greece, and then that the same Greece rejected poverty, and kept it at a distance for which reason I was very much pleased with Valla's translation, and thought it gave a beautiful meaning to the passage. "Greece, said Demaratus to Xerxes, has hitherto always been the seat of poverty, and the school of virtue. Instructed by the lectures of her wise men, and supported by a strict observation of her laws, she has hitherto always retained the love of poverty, and the honour of command, 'et paupertatem tuetur et dominatum.'" But in this case we must change the text of Herodotus, and instead of ἀπαμύνεται, read ἐπαμύνεται, as Valla evidently conjectured.

Find-

[(b) Herod. lib. 7. pag. 473, edit. Henr. Steph. ann. 1592.

Finding myself under this difficulty, I consulted an absent friend, who is very conversant in the Latin and Greek authors, and whose observations and advice have been of great assistance to me in this work. I shall here insert his answer, as it may be useful to young masters, in shewing them how to explain obscure and difficult passages.

I think, writes my friend, that I have discovered the true meaning of the passage of Herodotus. I will give the translation of it, after I have produced the reasons upon which I ground it.

The principal difficulty lies in the sense of the word ἀπαμύναι. If there is an ambiguity in construing it with πινύν, it is taken away by διαποσύνην, which the same verb equally governs. Now διαποσύνη does not signify the *honour of command*, as you translate it.

Ist then, To support this version, ἀπαμύναι must be changed into ἐπαμύναι without authority, and in opposition to all the manuscripts and printed copies, which should never be admitted, unless the direct meaning of the text required it.

2. The peculiar character of the Greeks, especially in those early ages, was the love of Liberty, independency, and freedom from every yoke, αὐτονομία, and not the desire of rule, an ambition to command, or the glory of conquests.

3. Let any one, if he can, instance not a whole nation, but a single city, over which the Greeks had then extended their empire, or affected the *honour of command*. Demaratus would therefore have made himself ridiculous, if he had boasted to Xerxes of the command of the Greeks, when he could not shew any one village over which they exercised it.

4. Though we should grant for a moment, that this Lacedæmonian intended to exaggerate the jealousy of the Greeks for the honour of command, as capable of making them sacrifice every thing for the conservation of so glorious a possession, he would never have made use of the word διαποσύνη to express his

his thought. He would have certainly preferred *ἡγεμονία, ἀρχή, δυναστεία, κράτος*, or it may be *κοιρανία*, if he would have talked like Homer. For *δισποσύνη* signifies only the dominion of a master over his slaves; *dominatio herilis in fervos*. It is an odious term, and carries with it the idea of slavery in the person who is subject to it, and conveys a notion entirely opposite to the genius of the Greeks, who never afterwards, though their ambition had been augmented from their great victories over the Persians, ever thought of establishing that despotic power, *δισποσύνη*. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, who alternately shared the honour of command in all their conquests, affected either to introduce a democracy into the cities subdued, or an aristocracy, and to animate them against the slavery of the Persians by that pleasing image of liberty. This needs no proof here, it is so expressly laid down in all history.

5. What Demaratus immediately adds of the Lacedæmonians, to prove his general thesis by that particular example, clearly shews, that the *δισποσύνη* here spoke of, was not active, such as they would exercise over others, but a passive *δισποσύνη*, such as Xerxes required of them, to which the Spartans would never submit, though abandoned by all the Greeks, and left to perish inevitably alone. This is the end of his reasoning, which we should have constantly in view.

I do not see therefore how we can receive a version, at once directly opposite to the express text of the original, the propriety of the words, the true character of the people, the evidence of facts, and the connections of the speaker's argument.

Thus then I would have it translated;

"Greece indeed has ever been bred up in poverty; but has had virtue withal, improved by wisdom, and supported by the vigour of the laws. And from the use she has made of this virtue it is, that Greece has alike preserved herself from the inconveniencies of poverty, and the yoke of subjection."

II. Things

II. *Things blameable in the LAWS of LYCURGUS.*

Without entering here into an exact detail of all that may be blamed in the laws of Lycurgus, I shall content myself with some light reflections, which the reader without doubt, justly shocked and offended at the bare relation of them, will have made before me.

1. *Upon the Choice of the CHILDREN to be brought up or exposed.*

And to begin with the choice of the children to be brought up or exposed, who can avoid being shocked at the unjust and barbarous custom of pronouncing a sentence of death upon infants, who had the misfortune to be born of too tender and delicate a constitution, to support the fatigue and exercise, to which the republic destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and have we no instances of it, that children, at first weak and tender, may grow strong by age, and become even very robust? But were it otherwise, can our country be served only by the strength of our bodies? And are wisdom, prudence, council, generosity, courage, and greatness of soul, and all the qualities which depend on the mind, of no value? (c) 'Omni-
nino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelsio magnifico-
coque quærimus, animi efficitur non corporis viribus.'
(d) Did Lycurgus himself do less service or honour to Sparta by the institution of his laws, than the greatest officers by their victories? Agesilaus was of small stature, and had something so very disadvantageous in his mien, that the Egyptians at first sight of him could not forbear laughing; and yet he made the great king of Persia tremble upon his throne.

But what is of greater force than all I have urged, has any other a right over the lives of men, except

(c) Cic. lib. 1. Offic. n. 79. (d) Ibid. n. 76.

he from whom they received them, that is, God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp upon his authority, when he arrogates to himself such a power independently of him? That command of the decalogue, which was only a repetition of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, condemns all the ancients in general, who thought they had the right of life and death over their slaves, and even over their children.

2. *The sole CARE of the BODY.*

The great fault of Lycurgus's laws, as Plato and Aristotle have observed, is, that they tended only to form a state of soldiers. This legislator seemed wholly taken up in the care of strengthening the body, without any concern about cultivating the mind. To what end should he banish all arts and sciences from his republic, (e) which principally tend to soften the manners, refine the understanding, improve the heart, and inspire a polite, generous, and honest behaviour, necessary in a word to the support of society, and to render the commerce of life agreeable? Hence the Lacedæmonians had something rigid, austere, and often cruel in their character; which partly arose from their education, and created an aversion for them in all the allies.

3. *Their barbarous CRUELTY to CHILDREN.*

'Twas an excellent custom at Sparta, to inure the boys early to bear heat and cold, hunger and thirst, (f) and by severe and painful exercises, to bring their bodies within due subjection to reason, so as to make them subservient to its orders, which could not be done, unless they were in a condition to support all
kind

(e) Omnes artes, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet. Pro Arch. n. 4.

(f) Exercendum corpus, et ita afficiendum est, ut obedire consilio rationique possit in exequendis negotiis et labore tolerando. Lib. 1. de Offic. n. 79.

kind of fatigues. But was it requisite to carry this trial so far as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not brutal and barbarous in the parents, to stand unmoved at seeing the blood run down from their children's wounds, and the harmless creatures often expiring under the blows of the rod?

4. *The unnatural* RESOLUTION of MOTHERS.

The courage of the Spartan mothers is admired, who, instead of tenderness and tears upon the news of their sons being killed in battle, expressed a kind of joy. I should have been better pleased, that natural affection had shewn itself upon such occasions, and that the love of their country had not entirely stifled the sentiments of the mother and the woman. One of our generals, who was told in the heat of battle, that his son was just slain, spoke far more wisely, "Let us now think, says he, of conquering our enemies, to-morrow I will lament my son."

5. EXCESSIVE LEISURE.

I cannot see how we can excuse Lycurgus for obliging the Lacedæmonians to pass their whole lives in idleness, except what they spent in war. He left all arts and trades to slaves and foreigners, who dwelt among them, and put nothing but the shield and spear into the hands of the citizens. Without mentioning the danger of suffering the number of slaves, required for the tilling of lands, to increase to such a degree, as to exceed that of their masters, which often occasioned seditions; into how many disorders must so much leisure throw persons always idle, without any daily employment, or regular business? 'Tis an inconvenience at present too frequent among the gentry, and a natural consequence of their bad education. Except in time of war, most of our gentlemen pass their lives in a manner entirely useless. They look upon agriculture,
arts

arts and trade, as things beneath them, and would think themselves dishonoured by them. They often know nothing but how to handle their arms. They acquire but a superficial knowledge of the sciences, only just what they needs must; and several of them have no knowledge of them at all, nor the least taste for learning. No wonder therefore that entertainments, cards and dice, hunting-matches, visiting, and trifling conversations, should be their whole employment. A sad life for men of any understanding!

6. SHAME and MODESTY *absolutely neglected.*

But the most blameable circumstance in Lycurgus, is the little regard he had for shame and modesty, which shews us into what darkness and disorders the heathen were plunged. A Christian master will not fail to set the holiness and purity of the gospel laws, in opposition to that unbounded licentiousness; and by this contrast, display the dignity and excellence of Christianity.

This may also be done in as useful a manner, by comparing the most valuable part of Lycurgus's laws with those of the gospel. It is indeed worthy admiration, that the whole people should consent to a division of lands, which put the poor upon an equal footing with the rich, and by the alteration of the money, reduced themselves to a kind of poverty. But the legislator of Sparta, when he established these laws, had an armed force at his command. The legislator of the Christians said but one word, *Blessed are the poor in spirit*; and thousands of faithful in all after ages renounce their possessions, sell their lands, and leave all to follow Jesus Christ in poverty.

Upon the THEFT allowed the LACEDÆMONIANS.

I have thought proper to treat this article separately, and with some extent; because, in my opinion, the judgment generally given of it, does not seem
suffi-

sufficiently founded in the nature of things. This custom of the Lacedæmonians is severely condemned, as apt to incline youth to have little regard upon other occasions to the property of others, and as contrary to the law of nature and the decalogue. In the catalogue of crimes said to be tolerated in different nations, as incest among the Persians, the murder of old and infirm parents among the Indians, adultery among other people, we generally find the theft of the Lacedæmonians, with an observation that among the (g) Scythians, a nation commonly considered as barbarous, and having no laws, without any other notion of justice than what was derived from natural instinct, theft was condemned and punished as one of the greatest crimes.

But can it reasonably be presumed, that one of the greatest of legislators should have expressly authorized so gross a disorder as thieving, whilst every little law-giver, in all ages and countries, has been careful to punish it severely, and even with death?

Plutarch, who mentions this custom in the life of Lycurgus, in the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and in several other places, never gives the least sign of disapprobation, though usually so equitable a judge, and so exact a moralist; nor do I recollect, that any of the ancients ever charged it as a crime upon Lycurgus or the Lacedæmonians.

Upon what then do the moderns found the sentence they pass upon it? Certainly upon not giving themselves the trouble of weighing the circumstances, and penetrating the motives of it.

1. (h) The Lacedæmonian youth never filched, but by order of their governor.

2. They did it only at a particular time, and in virtue of the law.

3. They never stole any thing but garden-stuff and victuals, by way of supplement to their food, which

(g) *Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus. Nullum scelus apud eos furto gravius. Just. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

(h) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.*

which was purposely given them in very small quantity. And thus all these thefts were considered as instances of dexterity, which were publicly allowed them for the procuring a larger share of provision.

4. The lawgiver had several reasons for permitting this kind of theft.

His design was, to make the possessors more careful in locking up and preserving their substance.

And to make the boys more hardy and cunning, as designing them for the field.

They gave them little food, that they might never be cloyed, never be too full, or clogged with fat; that they might be alert and nimble, learn to bear hunger, and have better and more regular health.

(i) But the principal motive was, that all these boys being designed for the army without exception, it was necessary to inure them early to a soldier's life, to teach them to live upon a little, to provide a subsistence for themselves without standing in need of ammunition bread, to bear great fatigues, fasting, to maintain themselves long with little provisions in a country where the enemy, accustomed to consume a great deal, must starve in a few days, or be forced to quit their ground through the want of necessary provisions; whereas the Lacedæmonians could find wherewithal to subsist without difficulty. This the legislator, who was entirely a warrior, and had no other view but to train up soldiers, was willing to provide for at a distance by their education, inuring them to great frugality and sobriety, for want of which the generality of military expeditions miscarry, and the strongest armies are rendered incapable of maintaining their conquests. In-
somuch that at present, as luxury and an expensive manner of living has multiplied the necessities of armies, the care which embarrasses the officers most is the provision of victuals; and the first obstacle which hinders their advancing into an enemy's country, is want of subsistence. Thus our greatest generals con-
sider

(i) Instit. Lacon.

sider the ease and expedition, with which immense armies transported themselves from one country to another, as the most singular and incredible circumstance in ancient history.

These are the advantages Lycurgus intended to procure for a warlike people; and he could not have chosen more effectual, nor more certain means. And this is necessary for the understanding his law, and doing him justice. After all these observations, I question whether the Lacedæmonian youth were to be blamed for their theft, or obliged to make restitution. In this case they may easily be justified by still stronger and more solid reasons.

It is a certain principle, that from the first division of estates we possess nothing but dependently on the laws, and according to their dispositions; and that by giving up to each particular the enjoyment of that portion which has fallen to his share, the same laws may make such reserves and restrictions, and lay it under such services and burdens as they shall think most proper. Now the whole body of the Spartan state, when they accepted the laws of Lycurgus, did agree by a solemn compact, that upon the nine and thirty thousand lots distributed among the Spartans, the youth should be allowed to take such garden stuff and victuals as the possessor had not a watchful eye upon, without suffering them to complain of the robbery, or have an action against the robber. Thus we see, that whenever the boy was caught, he was not punished as having committed an injustice, or seized upon another man's property, but for want of dexterity.

Such sort of reserves, and the like privileges granted upon the property of others, are very useful in all states. Thus God not only gave the poor a liberty of gathering grapes in the vineyards, of gleaning in the fields, and even of carrying off whole sheaves, but withal allowed every passenger the freedom of entering into another's vineyard, as often as he pleased,

fed, and of eating as many grapes as he would, whether the master of the vineyard liked it or no. And God gives this reason for it, that the land of Israel was his, and the Israelites held it of him on this condition.

Services of this kind are established in other republics, without the least suspicion of any injustice. Soldiers have a right to lodge in private houses, to be subsisted in them on their march, or in their winter-quarters, to be furnished with waggons and other necessaries. The lord of a manor has a right, as he pleases, and whenever he pleases, to take the game and deer of his tenants, though the lands on which they are fed do not belong to him; and even to hinder the proprietors from touching any of them, though bred in their grounds.

Thus, the whole body of the Lacedæmonian state, consisting of every individual in it, had publicly transferred to the youth a right of going into their gardens and halls, and taking such provisions as they liked best. And these boys were no more criminal for using this liberty, than the citizens of Athens for going into the gardens and orchards of Cimon, and taking thence what they wanted; because every particular man in Sparta was supposed to have unanimously given the boys, who, after all, were their own children, the same permission that Cimon granted the Athenians, that were only his citizens.

As to the Scythians, amongst whom theft was severely punished, the reason of the difference is very evident. For the law, which is the sole judge of the property and use of our substance, had granted no privilege to any one private man over the substance of another; whereas the law of the Lacedæmonians had done just the contrary. It would have been a real theft to have gone into the gardens of Pericles, Themistocles, or Alcibiades, and taken the fruit thence; but there was none in gathering it from

from the orchards of Cimon and Pelopidas, because they had associated all their fellow-citizens into the enjoyment of that part of their estates.

There was no cause to apprehend, that this Spartan custom should teach the youth to steal upon other occasions. For the institutions of Lycurgus, which prohibited the use of gold and silver money, and obliged all the citizens to live and eat together, had made the robbery of goods and money either useless or impossible. And thus we do not find, that there ever was a discovery made or so much as one robbery at Lacedæmon for so many ages.

THE FOURTH PIECE, *taken from the HISTORY of the GREEKS.*

The PROSPEROUS TIMES of THEBES, and DELIVERANCE of SYRACUSE.

AS I design to be short, I have joined these two pieces of history together, though very separate in themselves; and, for the same reason, relating little besides, I shall content myself with laying open the characters of those who had the greatest share in them.

I. *The* PROSPEROUS DAYS of THEBES.

No part of history, in my opinion, shews better of what real merit is capable, and of what service great officers are to a state, than what happened at Thebes in a very short space of time. This city was very weak in itself, and but lately in a manner reduced to slavery. Lacedæmon, on the other hand, had long possessed the superiority, and domineered over all Greece. Two Thebans, by their courage and wisdom, brought down the formidable power of Sparta, and raised their country to the highest

highest point of empire and glory. I shall just touch upon this event, without entering into particulars.

These two Thebans were Pelopidas and Epaminondas, both descended from the most illustrious families in the city. The first was born to a great estate, which he augmented very much by inheriting the estate of another very wealthy and flourishing family. Poverty was in a manner hereditary to the other, but he rendered it still more familiar and easy, by a serious application to philosophy, and a plain manner of living, to which he always adhered with entire constancy and uniformity. The one shewed the use that was to be made of riches, and the other of poverty. Pelopidas distributed his riches to all such as stood in need of them, and deserved his assistance; shewing, says Plutarch, that he was the master and not the slave of wealth. As he could never prevail upon his friend Epaminondas to accept of his offers, and make use of his substance, he learned of him to live like a poor man in the midst of plenty. He purposely visited the houses of the poor, that he might know of them how to want. He should be ashamed, he said, of spending more at his table, or on his dress, than the meanest Theban. And he was only thus severe upon himself, that he might have wherewithal to maintain a greater number of honest men, who wanted assistance.

They were both equally designed by nature for great things, but with this difference, that Pelopidas applied himself most to the exercise of the body, and Epaminondas to the cultivation of the mind. The one employed all his leisure in wrestling and hunting, and the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But what has most of all been admired in them by men of judgment, is, that strict friendship and unalterable union in which they lived during the whole course of their lives, though almost always

employed together, either in the command of the army, or the government of the commonwealth; an union, founded upon the mutual esteem they had for each other, and increased by the love of their country, which made each of them look upon the success of the other, as his own. This good understanding and agreement, so seldom, or almost never found amongst ministers of state, as may be seen in the case of the great men of Athens, could arise only from a real greatness of soul, and a solid virtue; which not consulting glory, or riches, the fatal sources of dissention and envy, and considering only the interest and happiness of their country, was far superior to the little weakness of that mean jealousy, which feels uneasiness at the merit of others.

The first and most glorious proof Pelopidas gave of his courage and prudence, was the bold design he laid and executed, though then very young, of delivering his country from the yoke of the Lacedæmonians, who had made themselves masters of the citadel of Thebes by surprize. He took care in a little time to form a considerable conspiracy against the tyrants. But though this affair had been carried on with all possible secrecy, within a moment before the execution, a messenger who had made all imaginable speed, inquired for Archias the chief of the tyrants, who were then feasting together, and gave a letter into his hands, which he said required immediate dispatch, and was about serious affairs. And indeed it was afterwards known, that it contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy. (k) Archias smiling, *To-morrow then*, says he, *for serious business*; and put the letter under the cushion on which he lolled. But there was no to-morrow for him; for he was killed that night with all the tyrants, and the citadel recovered. The change which soon after happened in their affairs, and the war which humbled the pride

(k) Καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδιῶν. Οὐκ ἔνι εἰς αὐτοῖον (ἐφ' ἣν) τὰ σπυδαῖα.

of Sparta and deprived them of their empire by sea and land, might properly be said to be the work of that night, in which Pelopidas, without either taking castle or fort, with an handful of men, unloosed, to use that expression, and broke the bonds of the Lacedæmonian sway, which seemed morally impossible to have been either broken or unloosed.

He had afterwards a share in all the victories which Thebes gained over the Lacedæmonians. After such happy and successful expeditions, all the towns in Theffaly apply to Pelopidas for assistance against the tyrant that oppressed them. He immediately sets forward on his march, and gives them liberty by his presence. The two competitors for the crown of Macedon made choice of him to decide their quarrel. He prescribes them conditions of peace, and takes hostages of them for the security of their engagements; so great was then the fame of the power of Thebes, and the confidence they placed in his justice. He afterwards went embassador to the king of Persia, and was received with the greatest marks of distinction and respect; and whilst the deputies of the other republics were employed in serving their private advantage, he was engaged solely in promoting the general interest of Greece; and without asking any thing for his country, studied only to procure the liberty of all the Greeks, and their entire independency, contented with having obtained that, and little affected with the magnificent presents offered him by the king, he accepted only of such as, without enriching him, barely expressed the good will and favour of the prince.

So many great actions terminated in a very glorious death indeed, but not altogether such as might be desired for so great a man; for Pelopidas, pursuing too briskly the tyrant of Pheræ, who fled before him, and had covered himself behind the company of his guards, was at last overpowered by numbers, after having acted prodigies of valour. He

should have remembered that great men are accountable to their country for their lives, and ought to die for that alone, and not for themselves.

Asto Epaminondas [1], he has deservedly been considered as the greatest man Greece ever produced, *or perhaps the world*. [m] It would be hard to say, whether he was a better general or man. He had all the great qualities of the most famous captains, as Diodorus Siculus observes, and none of their vices. He was likewise averse to ambition and avarice. He sought to procure his country the command, and not to command himself. Riches were so far from being a temptation, that he never suffered them to approach him; it seems as if he should have himself dishonoured by growing rich; and his poverty attended him to his grave, whither he was carried at the expence of the public. As he was born poor, he resolved to continue so; and his friend Pelopidas could never prevail on him to think otherwise. "I am not ashamed, said he to him, of a poverty that has not prevented me from deserving the first employments in the common-wealth, and the command of her armies. Poverty has brought no shame upon me nor will I bring any upon poverty, by quitting it."

(n) He was as little solicitous about glory as money. He never made any interest for offices: Dignities courted him, and often did violence to his modesty, in obliging him to accept them; though he always discharged them in such a manner, as did more honour to them, than they to him.

His

[1] Thebanum Epaminondam, haud scio an summum virum Græciæ. Cic. lib. 2. de orat. n. 139.

[m] Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esse. Nam et imperium non sibi semper, sed patriæ quæsit: et pecuniæ adeo parcus fuit, ut sumptus funeri desuerit. Justin. lib. 6. cap. 8.

[e] Gloriæ quoque non cupidior quàm pecuniæ, quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt; honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitati videretur. Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis militiæ scientia homini inter literas nato. Just. ibid.

His integrity, sincerity, and invincible love of justice, procured him the entire confidence of his citizens, and even of his enemies. Nobody could avoid loving and admiring him for his good nature and affability, which nothing could alter; nor did they in the least take away from him the high esteem and veneration, which his great qualities had gained him. (o) It is in virtues of this social kind, that Plutarch places the real grandeur of Epaminondas. Nor indeed is any thing more extraordinary than such qualities, with an almost absolute power, in the midst of wars and victories, and at the head of the greatest affairs; nor can any thing more necessary be proposed for the imitation of persons of quality, who are often tempted to substitute artifice, dissimulation, airs of haughtiness and pride, instead of them.

His elevation of mind made him always bear, with mildness and patience, the jealousy of his equals, the ill humour of his citizens, the calumnies of his enemies, and the ingratitude of his country, after his great services. (p) He was fully of opinion that greatness of soul consisted particularly in suffering of these trials without concern, complaining or abating any thing of his zeal for the public good; (q) because the ill usage of our country, like that of our parents should be born with submission.

There never was a greater master in the art of war. In him, intrepid valour was united with the most consummate prudence. And all these virtues were no less the effect of his excellent education, than of his happy genius. From his infancy, he had expressed such a wonderful taste for study and labour, that one would wonder how a man born in the

N 3
(o) Ἦν ἀληθῶς μέγας ἐνθουσιαστής, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ μέγαλοψυχία, καὶ πραότης. Plut. in. Pelop.

(p) Τὸ δὲ συκοφάνημα καὶ τὴν πείρην Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἠνεγκεν πρῶτος μὲν μέρος ἀνδρείας καὶ μέγαλοψυχίας τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνέξικακίαν ποιούμενος. Plut. in Pelop.

(q) Ut parentum sævitiam, sic patriæ, patiēdo ac ferendo leniendam esse. Liv. l. 37. n. 34.

midst of letters, and brought up in the bosom of philosophy, could have possibly acquired so perfect a knowledge in the art of war.

Thus great men are formed ; which we cannot inculcate too much into youth designed for the army, the service of the state, or any employment in general whatsoever, so several of them are apt to look upon study as useless, and almost dishonourable. (r) Tully, in his third book *de Oratore*, gives a long list of the most illustrious officers in Greece who were all very industrious to improve their minds by the study of the sciences, and philosophy in particular. Among these was Pisistratus, Pericles, Alcibades, Dion of Syracuse, whom we shall speak of by and by, Thimotheus the Son of Conon, Agesilaus, and Epaminondas. It is a great misfortune for persons raised to preferments and the administration of the public affairs, to enter upon them, as Tully expresses it, naked and unarmed, *i. e.* without knowledge, understanding, or almost any tincture of the sciences that adorn and cultivate the mind. (s) ‘Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendos, et ad rempublicam gerendam nudi veniunt atque inermes, nullâ cognitione rerum, nullâ scientiâ ornati.’

II. The DELIVERANCE of SYRACUSE.

Two very illustrious men were engaged in restoring liberty to Syracuse, Dion and Timoleon. The first laid the foundations, and the second entirely finished that great work.

I. DION.

I question, whether among the lives of illustrious men left us by Plutarch, there is one more beautiful and curious of that of Dion ; but there is certainly none which shews more the value of a good education, and of what great advantage the conversation of men of learning and virtue may be.

I shall

[1] Lib. 3. de orat, n. 137, 141

[s] Ibid. n. 136.

I shall confine myself chiefly to this point, by making some reflections on such circumstances in the life of Dion, as relate to it.

REFLECTION *the* FIRST.*The CONVERSATION of MEN of LEARNING and PROBITY, very useful to PRINCES.*

Dion was brother to Aristomache, the wife of the elder Dionysius. A kind of chance, or rather, says Plutarch, a peculiar providence, which laid the foundations of the liberty of Syracuse at a distance, led Plato thither, the prince of philosophers. Dion became his friend and disciple, and improved very much by his lectures. For though educated in slavish principles under a tyrant, and habituated to a cowardly and servile subjection; though bred up in pomp and pleasures, and accustomed to a kind of life, which made all happiness consist in voluptuousness and magnificence; he had no sooner heard the discourses of this philosopher, and tasted of that philosophy which leads to virtue, than he found his soul inflamed with the love of it.

The second Dionysius succeeded his father at an age when, as (t) Livy says of another king of Syracuse, he was so far from being able to govern with wisdom, that he was scarce capable of using his liberty with moderation. He was no sooner upon the throne, than the courtiers took pains to get the ascendant of him, and beset the young prince with continual flatteries. Their whole employment was to find out every vain amusement for him, to engage him continually in feasting, the company of women, and all other shameful pleasures. Dion, being fully of opinion, that all the vices of the young Dionysius proceeded only from his bad edu-

N 4

cation,

(t) Puerum, vix dum libertatem, necdum dominationem modice laturum. Læti id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Liv. lib. n. 4.

cation, endeavoured to introduce him into good conversation, and gave him a taste of discourse, capable of improving his manners. To this end he prevailed upon him to send for Plato to his court. And though the philosopher had no great inclination for the journey, as expecting no great benefit from it, he could not resist the earnest solicitations which were made him from all parts. He therefore came to Syracuse, and was received with extraordinary marks of honour and distinction.

Plato found the most happy dispositions in the world in the young Dionysius, who gave himself up without reserve to his lectures and advice. But as he had very much improved himself by the instructions and example of his master Socrates, the most skilful man that ever the Pagan world produced, for instilling a taste for truth, he was careful to manage the young tyrant with wonderful address, declining to oppose his passions directly labouring to gain his confidence by kindness and insinuation, and studying to make virtue at once amiable to him, and victorious over vice, which holds men only in its chains by the allurements, pleasures, and delights it lays before them.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who had wallowed till then in idleness, sensuality, and the consequential ignorance of every duty, awaking as it were from a lethargy, began to open his eyes, to discern the beauty of virtue, to have a taste for the pleasures and joys of a solid and agreeable conversation, and gave himself up as eagerly to the desire of being taught and instructed, as before he was averse to it, and abhorred it. The court, which is the ape of princes, and conforms universally to their inclinations, entered into the same sentiments. All the rooms of the palace were like so many schools of geometry, covered with the dust the geometers used in tracing their lines; and in a little time, the study of philosophy, and the most sublime sciences, became the general and prevailing taste.

The

The great advantage of these studies with reference to a prince, is not only the storing his mind with an infinity of very curious, useful, and often necessary branches of knowledge, but also the withdrawing him from a state of idleness and indolence, and the vain amusements of a court; the inuring him to a life of seriousness and application; the raising a desire in him of being instructed in the duties of royalty, and becoming acquainted with such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, the enabling him to govern by himself, and see every thing with his own eyes, that is, to be truly a king. But this will be always opposed by courtiers and flatterers, as was now the case of Dionysius the younger.

REFLECTION the Second.

Flatterers, the fatal pest of Courts, and Ruin of Princes.

What Tully says of flattery, with relation to friendship, is no less true with reference to the courts of princes, that it is a most mortal poison. (u) "Sic habendum est, nullam in amicitia pestem esse majorem, quam adulationem. (x) By flatterers he means false and double minded men, of an easy and pliable disposition, who, like Proteus, put on a thousand different forms as occasion offers, attentive only to please the prince, constantly employed in studying his taste and inclinations, and reading his desires in his countenance, never laying before him an offensive truth, contradicting him in nothing, and talking always the same language with him. Guards, says an ancient writer, are set round the palaces of kings, to keep off enemies less dangerous than flattery. (y) It deceives the centinels, enters not only into the cabinet, but the heart of a prince, and is industrious to deprive him of what is most precious and essential to his happiness;

N 5

(u) De amicit. n. 91.

(x) Ibid. n. 91 93.

(y) Sola quippe hæc (adulatio) nequicquam vigilantibus satellitibus imperium deprædatur: regumque nobilissimam partem, animam nimirum, aggreditur. Synes. de regno.

pinefs; I mean, a wife and equitable fpirit, the difcernment of truth and falshood, the love of juftice and the public good.

(y) It is not furprifing, that a young prince like Dionyfius, who would have found it difficult to have flood his ground with the moft excellent difpofition and amidft the beft examples, fhould at laft give way to fo great a temptation, in a court that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but in vice, and furrounded with a multitude of flatterers, who were continually praifing and commending him. They began with ridiculing the retired life he was made to lead, and the ftudies to which he applied himfelf, as if calculated to make a philofopher of him. They went farther, and took pains to render the zeal of Dion and Plato fufpected, and even odious to him, by representing them (z) as troublefome reformers and haughty pedagogues, who affumed an authority over him, which was neither fit for his age or condition. At laft Dion and Plato, under different pretexts, and at different times, were banifhed the court, which abandoned itfelf again to every kind of excefs and riot.

We fee from hence how difficult it is for a prince to efcape the fnares that are laid for him by the concurrence of a fmall number of perfons, in the firft places or employments about him, and interefted to favour each other, to conceal from him part of what he ought to know, and to agree upon certain points, notwithstanding their feparate interefts, jealousies, and fecret hatred, that they alone may be fole mafters of affairs, may ingrofs the prince's confidence, and keep him a kind of prifoner, within the narrow circle they have drawn around him. † "Claudentes principem fenem, et agentes ante omnia ne quid fciat."

RE-

(y) Vix artibus honeftis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris fervaretur. Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 15.

(z) Triftes et fuperciliofos alienæ vitæ cenfores, publicos pedagogos. Senec. ep. 123.

† Lamp. in vit. Alex.

REFLECTION the THIRD.

*The great QUALITIES of DION intermixed with some
slight FAULTS.*

It is difficult to find so many excellent qualities in one single person, as in the prince we are speaking of. Greatness of soul, noble sentiments, generosity in distributing his fortune, heroic courage in the field, joined with uncommon temper and prudence and a vastness of mind, capable of the largest views, a resolution unshaken in the greatest dangers and most sudden changes of fortune, a love for his country and the public good, carried almost to an excess, were part of the virtues of Dion. He imbibed the precepts of philosophy with an ardour, of which Plato says he has seen but few instances; and he studied it, not out of curiosity, but to know his duty, and make it the rule of conduct.

Though passionately addicted to philosophy, the study of it never diverted him from his duty, (a) as he knew how to contain his passion for it within due bounds. After Dionysius had obliged him to leave Syracuse and Sicily, he led the most agreeable life in his exile that can possibly be imagined for a man that had once tasted the pleasures of study; enjoying in tranquillity the conversation of philosophers, assisting at their disputes, and making a considerable figure amongst them through his excellent genius and the solidity of his judgment; visiting the cities of learned Greece, to collect in them, if I may be allowed the expression, the flower of the men of genius, and to consult the ablest politicians, leaving every where behind him the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him, and receiving extraordinary

[a] Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum. Tacit. in. vit. Agric. n. 4.

ordinary honours wherever he passed, which were paid still more to his merit than his birth. It was from so pleasing a life as this that he tore himself to assist his country, which implored his protection and to deliver it from the yoke of tyranny, under which it had long groaned.

A bolder attempt perhaps was never formed, nor at the same time ever met with greater success. He set out with no more than eight hundred men, and two merchant ships, to engage with so formidable a power as that of Dionysius. "Who would have thought," [b] says an historian, that a man with two merchant ships would have been able to dethrone a prince, who had four hundred ships of war, an hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, provision of arms and corn in proportion, and as much treasure as was requisite to pay and maintain so numerous an army; who besides this was master of one of the greatest cities in Greece, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable forts, and supported and fortified by a great number of very powerful allies? The cause of Dion's great success was his magnanimity and courage, and the affection born him by those whose liberty he was to procure."

But what I find most beautiful in the life of Dion, most worthy of admiration, and, if I may be allowed to speak so, most superior to the common sentiments of mankind, is that greatness of soul and unheard-of patience, with which he bore the ingratitude of his fellow citizens. He had left all to come to their assistance; he had brought the tyranny to its last gasp; and was upon the point of restoring them to their full liberty. And as a reward for so many services, they shamefully expel him from their city, in company of a small handful of soldiers, whose fidelity they could not corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add the most cruel abuses to their treachery. And though he wanted no more to revenge himself

himself of those ungrateful rebels, than to give the word, and deliver them up to the indignation of his foldiers; having alike command over them as himself, he checks their impetuosity, and, without disarming them, lays a restraint upon their just resentment, not allowing them, in the very heat and fire of battle, to do more than intimidate his enemies without killing them; because he considered them still as his fellow citizens and brethren.

He said upon another occasion, "that officers usually
" passed their days in the exercise of arms, and in
" learning the art of war; that for his part he had spent
" a long time at Athens in the academy, to learn there
" how to conquer wrath, envy and revenge; that to be
" civil and obliging to one's friends and men of probi-
" ty, was no mark of having conquered our passions;
" but to behave with humanity towards those who
" have done us wrong, and to be always ready to par-
" don them.—It is true, he said, according to human
" laws, it is admitted to be more excusable to revenge
" ourselves of such as have injured us, than to be the
" first in doing wrong to others. But if we consult na-
" ture, we shall find that both these faults have but
" one root, and that there is as much weakness in re-
" venging an injury, as in first committing it."

All the wrongs and ingratitude of his country were not capable of making any abatements in his zeal. After various changes of fortune, he restored its liberty, and expelled the tyrants. But he had not the pleasure of enjoying the fruit of his labours. A traitor formed a conspiracy against him, and assassinated him in his own house. His death involved Syracuse in new misfortunes.

I think we cannot charge Dion with any more than one fault; he had something rough and severe in his temper, which rendered him unfociable and difficult of access, and kept men of the greatest probity and his best friends too much at a distance. Plato had often put him in mind of this failing. He had even endeavoured to correct it, by bringing him particularly acquaint-
red.

ed with a philosopher of a chearful and facetious disposition, and very capable of inspiring him with kind and obliging sentiments. He afterwards reminded him of it by a letter, wherein he says, (c) "Consider, I beg of you, that you are accused of wanting good nature and affability; and always remember that the most certain means to make affairs succeed, is to render one's self agreeable to those with whom we have to treat. (d) Haughtiness banishes friends and companions, and reduces a man to live in solitude." (e) Notwithstanding he was blamed for his too great austerity, and using an inflexible severity towards the people, he was never observed to depart in the least from it, either from being naturally averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion, or that in the design he had of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, who were spoiled and corrupted by adulation and complacency of their orators, he thought him-

(c) Ἐνθυμῷ δὲ καὶ ὅτι δοκεῖς τισὶν ἐνδεστέρας τῷ προσήκοντος θεραπευτικὸς εἶναι· μὴ ἔν λανθανέτω σὴ ὅτι διὰ τῷ ἀρίσκειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶττεν εἶναι.

Ἡ δ' ἀνθάδεια ἐρημία ζήνοικος. This thought of Plato's is extremely beautiful, but not so obvious at first sight. M. Dacier has translated it thus: 'Haughtiness is always the companion of solitude; which carries with it no idea, or rather presents one directly opposite to reality. For it is false, that haughtiness is always found in solitude. A single man with nobody about him, is little susceptible of it, and has no opportunity of shewing it. This vice requires witnesses and spectators. This therefore is not Plato's meaning; who intends to say, that haughtiness drives away the rest of mankind: that it removes those from us with whom we ought to live in the greatest union; whereas affability gains great men abundance of followers, and makes them live in a manner amidst a multitude of persons, even such as are strangers and unknown, who gladly approach them, and take pains to attach themselves to them; whereas haughtiness makes a desert around them, puts all to flight, and reduces them to as great a degree of solitude, as though they were in a wilderness and by that means deprives them of the assistance of the persons they stand in need of for the success of their affairs. Ἡ δ' ἀνθάδεια ἐρημία ζήνοικος. Haughtiness reduces a man to solitude.'

(e) Ἀλλὰ φύσει τε φαίνεται πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν δυσκέρως καχετημένος, ἀπιστοῦντι τὴν Συρακούσις ἄγαν ἀνιμῆτος καὶ διαλεθρῆς πρὸς θυμῷ. Plut. in. vit. Dion.

himself obliged to a more resolute and manly behaviour.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is to command and direct others, ought principally to study the [f] art of gaining the affections of mankind, of moulding and turning them at pleasure, and conciliating them to our own views; which can never be affected by domineering over them, by haughtily commanding them, or barely pointing out their duty to them with a rigid inflexibility. There is a steadiness and resolution, or rather an obstinate severity, even in the pursuit of virtue, and the exercises of all employments, which is apt to degenerate into vice, when carried too far. I own we are never allowed to bend the rule; but it is always commendable, and often necessary to soften and make it more tractable; which is principally done by an obliging and insinuating behaviour; by not rigorously insisting upon the performance of the most minute circumstance of duty by overlooking such little faults as scarce deserve notice, and remonstrating mildly upon those that are most considerable; in a word by endeavouring by all possible means to gain the love of others, and to render virtue and duty agreeable.

II. TIMOLEON.

Timoleon, who was a native of Corinth, completed at Syracuse what Dion had so happily begun; and signalized himself in that expedition by amazing exploits of valour and wisdom, which made him equal in glory to the greatest men of his age. After he had obliged Dionysius to quit Sicily, he recalled all the citizens, whom the tyrants had banished into different countries; he got together sixty thousand of them to re-people the deserted city; he divided the

[f] This was what an antient poet called, *flexamina atque omnium regina rerum oratio*. Cic. lib. 1. de Divin. n. 80.

the lands among them, gave them laws, and established a form of civil government in conjunction with commissioners from Corinth; he cleared all Sicily of tyrants, with which it had been long infested, restored peace and security in all places, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with all things necessary for reinstating themselves.

After such glorious actions, which had gained him unlimited credit, he voluntarily renounced his authority, and passed the rest of his life at Syracuse as a private man, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such multitudes of people, indebted for their tranquillity and happiness to him. But he was ever respected, and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. There was no treaty of peace, no new law, no division of lands, no regulation of policy made without Timoleon's being concerned in it, and and giving the last hand to it.

In his old days he had the trial of a very severe affliction, which he bore with an astonishing patience; I mean the loss of his sight. This accident was so far from diminishing the people's consideration and respect that they had for him, that it only served to augment them. The Syracusans were not satisfied with paying him frequent visits; but carried all strangers that travelled amongst them to his house either in town or country, to shew them their benefactor and deliverer. If any matter of moment was to be debated in the public assembly, they called in him to their assistance; and as for him, he came in a chariot drawn by two horses through the *forum* into the theatre, and entered the assembly in the same chariot amidst the shouts and joyful acclamations of the whole people. When he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his servants carried him back in his chariot across the theatre, the whole people reconducting him beyond the gates of the city with the like acclamations and applauses.

They

They paid him still greater honours after his death. His funeral was solemnized with the utmost magnificence, and the greatest ornament of it was the tears and blessings bestowed by the people upon the deceased, which were not the effect of mere custom and decency, but proceeded from a sincere affection and the most cordial gratitude. They farther made an ordinance that every year for the future upon the day of his death, games of music, wrestling, and horse-races, should be celebrated in honour of his memory.

Nothing ever was more consummate than what history tells us of Timoleon. I do not mean only his great exploits in the field, and the good success of all his enterprizes: What I admire most in him, is his warm and disinterested love for the public good, reserving to himself only the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services; his freedom from all insolence of his power and pride of worth, his retirement into the country, his modesty, moderation, declining of honours, and what is still more extraordinary, his aversion to all flattery, and even for the justest praise. (g) When at any time mention was made of his wisdom, his valour, and the glory he had acquired in expelling the tyrants; he only replied, that he thought himself highly indebted to the gods, for making choice of him to be the minister of their will, when they determined to restore the peace and liberty of Sicily; for he was thoroughly persuaded, that all human events were directed and governed by the secret orders of divine providence.

I cannot conclude this article concerning the government of Sicily without desiring the reader, to compare the happy and peaceable old age of Timoleon, who was esteemed, honoured, and beloved by every

(g) Cum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam se in ea re maximas diis agere gratias atque habere, quod cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Cornel. Nep. in Vita Timol. cap. 4.

every body, with the miserable life of Dionysius the tyrant (I mean the father) who was continually hunted with terror and apprehension, that never suffered him to rest, the horror and execration of the public. (h) During the whole course of his reign, which lasted eight and thirty years, he wore a cuirass of brass under his robe. He never made a speech to the people, but from the top of a tower. And not daring to rely upon any of his friends or kindred, he took foreigners and slaves to guard him, going abroad as seldom as he could, his fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of perpetual imprisonment. That he might not trust his life and throat in the hands of a barber, he made his daughters shave him, who were then very young; and when they were grown up, he took the scissars and razor out of their hands, and taught them to singe off his hair and beard with nut-shells; (i) and at last did this office himself, evidently not caring to rely any longer upon his own daughters. He never went by night into the apartments of his wives, without causing them to be thoroughly searched, and with great care. His bed was encompassed with a very large and deep entrenchment, having a draw-bridge, which opened a passage to it. After he had well bolted and barred the doors of his chamber, he raised his bridge, that he might sleep securely. (k) Neither his brother nor his son, were allowed to come into his chamber without changing their clothes, and being searched by the guards. Can a life of such continual jealousy and terror be properly called reigning, or even living? (l) A king, who really deserves that name, needs no guards but for form, and the outward splendor of majesty, (m) as he lives.

(h) Cic. lib. 5. Tusc. Quæst. n. 58, 62.

(i) Lib. 2. de Off. n. 25.

(k) Plut. in vit. Dion.

(l) Princeps, suis beneficiis tutus, nihil præsidio eget; arma ornamenti causa habet. Sen. lib. 1. de Clem. cap. 13.

(m) Quod tutius imperium est, quam illud quod amore et caritate munitur? Quis securior quam rex ille, quem non metuunt, sed cui metuunt subditi? Synes. de regno.

lives in the midst of his own family, sees none but his own children wherever he goes, visits none but his friends, and is always in a country committed to his care and tenderness, whilst all his subjects instead of fearing him, are only afraid for him.

What comparison, (n) says Tully in one of his books of *Tusculan Questions*, is there between the wretched and fearful life of Dionysius the tyrant, and that of Plato. Archytas, and a great many other philosophers, who lived at the same time? This prince, in the midst of pomp and grandeur condemned by his own choice to a kind of a dungeon, excluded the conversation of all good men, passed his life with slaves, wretches, and barbarians, regarding every man as an enemy, who set a just value upon liberty, employed only in bloodshed, and spending his days and nights in continual terror. The others, united by the same sentiments of happiness and taste of study, formed amongst themselves the most pleasing and agreeable society that can possibly be imagined, exempt from all care and uneasiness, and knowing no other pleasure than what arises from the contemplation of truth, and the love of virtue, wherein the philosophers placed the whole happiness of man.

(o) 'Twas in their school, and from their conversations, that Dion had imbibed these principles and sentiments, which he endeavoured to instil into the young Dionysius, exhorting him to govern his subjects with humanity and tenderness, as a good father governs his family. "Consider, said he, that the
"chains which support and strengthen a monar-
"chical government, and which your father boast-
"ed he had made as hard to break as adamant, are
"are neither fear nor force, as he imagined, a great
"number of gallies, nor a guard of thousands of
"barbarians; but the affection, love and gratitude,
"which the virtue and justice of princes raise in
"the hearts of their people; and that chains form-
"ed

(n) Lib. 3. *Tusc. Quæst.* n. 63. 66.

(o) *Plut. in vit. Dion.*

“ ed by such sentiments, though more gentle and less
 “ heavy than others so hard and stiff, are however
 “ much stronger with regard to duration, and con-
 “ tribute more firmly to the support of the state :
 “ That besides, a prince is neither honoured or esteem-
 “ ed, for being richly apparelled, for his furniture or
 “ retinue, or spending his time in luxury and pleasures,
 “ if he has no advantage, in point of reason and un-
 “ derstanding, over the least of his subjects, and is so
 “ wholly employed for the decoration of his body
 “ apartments, to neglect adorning the palace of his
 “ mind, as becomes the majesty of a king.”

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the ROMAN HISTORY.

HOW prejudiced soever Livy may seem in favour of the people, whose history he writes, we cannot deny but the high encomium he gives them in the beginning of his work is very well grounded ; and it must be owned with him, that there never was a republic more powerful, or governed with greater justice, or more abundant in glorious examples ; where avarice and luxury were later introduced, or where poverty and frugality were had in so great honour during so great a length. ‘ *Cæterum,*’ says Livy, ‘ *aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit ; nec in quam tam feræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint ; nec ubi tantus ac tamdiu paupertati ac parsimoniam honos fuerit.*’

Providence having shewn, in Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander, with what ease it subverts the greatest empires, and erects new ones, was pleased to establish one of a very different kind, which should in no respect resemble the impetuosity of the for-

former, or be owing to those tumultuous circumstances, wherein chance seemed to have a greater share than wisdom; an empire which was to increase by just degrees and proportions, which should conquer by method, and grow strong by the wisdom of counsels and patience; whose power should be the fruit of every human virtue, and which in all these particulars should deserve to become the model of every other government. With this view such distant foundations were laid as were sufficient to support the mighty edifice designed to be raised upon them. Providence had made preparations for it by a long succession of great men, and a chain of singular events, which the heathen world could not avoid admiring, and over which they were forced to own the divinity presided. (p) Livy in the beginning of his history says, that the original and foundation of the greatest empire in the world, could be no other than the work of the fates, and the effect of the peculiar protection of the gods. (q) He makes Romulus declare, as soon as he is admitted into heaven, that it is the will of the gods that Rome should become the capital of the universe, and that no human power should be able to withstand it. (r) He industriously enumerates the prodigies which from the first foundation of the city announced its future greatness, and takes notice of a kind of secret instinct and certain foresight of the power, for which it was intended, in several of those who governed it at first. (s) Lastly, Plutarch says in express terms, that whoever considers the conduct and actions of the Romans with the least attention, must clearly discover, that they

(p) Debebatur, ut opinor, satis tantæ origo urbis, maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Liv. lib. 1. n. 4.

(q) Abi nuncia Romanis, Cœlestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit—Sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse. Ibid. n. 16.

(r) Inter principia condendi hujus operis, [Capitolii] movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos. Ibid. n. 55.

(s) Plut. in vit. Romul.

they could never have attained to that height of glory they did, if the gods had not taken care of them from the beginning, and there had not been something miraculous and divine in their original. And in another place, which in my opinion is well worth notice, (t) he attributes that incredible rapidity of conquests, which astonishes the universe, not to the efforts of human prudence and valour, but to the special protection of the gods, whose favour, like an impetuous wind, in the swift progress of successes, seemed in haste to augment and extend the Roman power.

It is of the history of this people that I am now undertaking to give some idea. To this end I shall produce only some select pieces of it, as I have done already in treating the history of the Greeks; and I shall chuse such as will best explain the character and spirit of the Roman people, and which presents the greatest virtues and most excellent examples. I shall also add some reflections to shew youth in what manner they may make the best advantage of what they read.

The first piece of this history shall treat of the foundation of the Roman empire by Romulus and Numa; the second of the expulsion of the kings, and the establishment of liberty; the third shall be much larger, though it takes in but the space of about fifty years, from the beginning of the second Punic war, to the defeat of Perseus king of Macedon, during which the greatest events in the Roman history happened; and the fourth and last shall be of the changing the Roman republic into a monarchy, foretold in a particular manner by Polybius in his history.

THE

(t) Ἡ ἰσχύς τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸ ρόδιον τῆς εἰς τοσαύτην δύναμιν καὶ αὐξήσει ὁμῆς, οὐ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑδὲ ὁρμαῖς προχωροῦσαν ἡγαγεόντιαν, θείαι δὲ πομπὴ καὶ πνύματι τύχης ἐπιταχυνομῆς ἐπιδείκνυται τοῖς ὁρθῶς λογιζομένοις. Plut. de. for. Rom.

THE FIRST PIECE *of the* ROMAN HISTORY.*The* FOUNDATION *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE *by* ROMULUS and NUMA.

WE find all the principles and foundations of the Roman greatness united in Romulus and Numa, the cause of its rise and continuance, the maxims of its policy, the rules of its government, the peculiar genius of its people, and the spirit with which it was animated in its whole conduct, and in all its different circumstances, for above twelve hundred years. It was in these two reigns the Roman people imbibed the peculiar and singular characters by which they were afterwards distinguished with so much glory and success; and which took so deep root, that they survived without alteration, not only during the time of the kings and of the republic, but under the emperors, and even to the dissolution of the empire.

The FIRST CHARACTER *of the* ROMANS.

VALOUR.

One of the prevailing characters of the Romans was, that they were a warlike, enterprising, victorious people, devoting themselves entirely to the profession of arms, and preferring the glory arising from military expeditions to every thing besides. Their founder Romulus seems to have inspired them with this disposition. The prince, brought up from his infancy to the laborious fatigues of hunting, and accustomed to contend with robbers, obliged afterwards to defend the privileges of the assylum he had opened, and having no other subjects in his new kingdom, than a band of resolute, desperate, and savage fellows, who had no hopes of security for their persons but in force, and having no possessions,

sessions, were able to subsist only by the sword; this prince, I say, was wont to have always the sword in his hands, and passed his reign in successively making war upon the Sabines, the Fidenates, the Veians and all the neighbouring people.

He placed military courage in great honour, by the frequent victories he gained, and his own personal exploits. And the glory with which he was twice seen to enter Rome, bearing a trophy at the head of his conquering troops, amidst a large train of captives, and the triumphs which were introduced in after ages, and were at the same time, a most powerful incentive to the ambition of the generals, and the highest pitch of grandeur to which they could aspire. Romulus was no less powerful to animate the courage of the common soldiers, by rewards and different military honours, than by the allurements of the conquered lands, which he divided among them.

The SECOND CHARACTER of the ROMANS.

PRUDENT MEASURES *taken for* **EXTENDING their EMPIRE.**

Another great character of the Romans, consists in the wise measures they always took for extending and aggrandizing their empire whereof Romulus had set them an example. This prince, persuaded that the power of a state consisted in the multitude of its subjects, made use of two expedients for augmenting the number of his.

The first was the moderate and prudent use he made of his victories and conquests. Instead of treating the vanquished as his enemies, according to the custom of other conquerors, by cutting them off, plundering them of their effects, reducing them to slavery, or forcing them, by the severity of the yoke imposed upon them, to hate the new government, he looked upon them all as his natural subjects, made them

them live with him in Rome, communicated to them all the privileges of the ancient citizens, adopted their feasts and sacrifices, left the way open for them indifferently to all civil and military employments; and by all these advantages, making the good of the state a common interest, he attached them to it by such powerful and voluntary ties, as they were never after tempted to break through.

The Romans, having always at heart a tacit prescience of the grandeur to which they were destined, punctually observed this maxim of profound and beneficial policy. We know it was usually the general himself, who had conquered a city or a province that became the protector of them, that pleaded their cause in the senate, that defended their rights and interests, and, forgetting his title of conqueror, remembered only that of patron and father, to treat them all as his clients and children.

The second expedient employed by Romulus, was not to disdain the admission of shepherds slaves, and men of no substance or family, into the number of his subjects and citizens. (u) He knew the beginnings of cities and states, as of all other human things, were weak and obscure, and that the founders of states had thence taken occasion to feign, that their first inhabitants were the offspring or sons of the earth. He received, therefore, all fugitives into his asylum, whom the love of liberty, and prosecutions for debts, or other reasons, obliged to seek a retreat. This first concession, joined to the feast of the Saturnalia, which Numa afterwards instituted, in which the masters admitted their slaves to a share in the same entertainment, and lived with them in a state of perfect equality, inspired the Romans with greater mildness and good-

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nature

(u) *Urbes quoque, ut cætera, ex infimo nasci: deinde. quas sua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas sibi opes magnumque nomen facere. . . . Adjiciendæ multitudinis causa; vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam è terra sibi prolem ementiebantur; asylum aperit. Liv. lib. 1. n. 8. et 9.*

nature towards their slaves, than any other republic whatsoever. Every citizen had the power, by setting his slaves at liberty, of making them Roman citizens like himself, of granting them the rank and all the privileges annexed to it, and of uniting them to the state in so strict and honourable a manner, that there was no instance of any freeman that did not prefer this new country to the place of his nativity and family.

By these two expedients, Rome was continually renewed and strengthened. By the same means, its losses were repaired, and the places of the ancient families extinct by the accidents of war supplied; recruits were always found ready within itself to fill up the legions, and subjects capable of discharging every employment of peace and war; and when over-charged with too great numbers, it was enabled to send out numerous swarms to live at a distance, and to plant powerful colonies upon its frontiers which served as bulwarks against the enemy, and secured the new conquests.

By continually incorporating foreigners, and changing them into citizens and members, of the state, it communicated to them its manners, maxims, spirit, noble sentiments and zeal for the public; and by giving them a share in its power, advantages, and glory, it formed a constant flourishing state, equally supported and aggrandized from without and within.

(u) The Romans always avoided the capital fault of Pericles, though otherwise one of the greatest politicians that ever Greece had, in declaring that none should be held as natural and true Athenians, but such as had both Athenian fathers and mothers. By this single decree, which excluded above one quarter of the citizens, he extremely weakened the commonwealth. He disabled it from making conquests, or maintaining them; and being obliged to rest satisfied with having the conquered towns for allies or tributaries, instead of uniting them to himself as

members

(u) Plut. in vit. Pericl.

members of the body of the state, and parts of the republic, according to the principles of the Romans, he soon saw them shake off their new yoke, and assert their liberty.

(x) Dionysius Halicarnasseus justly looks upon the custom introduced by Romulus, of incorporating the conquered cities and nations into the state, as a most excellent maxim of policy, and what principally contributes to the establishment and support of the Roman grandeur. He observes that it was the contempt or ignorance of this maxim, which ruined the power of Greece, disabled Sparta, from recovering itself after the battle of Leuctra, and lost the Thebans and Athenians the empire of Greece for ever after that of Cheronea; whereas the Roman republic has been seen to survive the most bloody defeats, and to send down armies into the field still more numerous than those they had lost.

The emperor Claudius, in an excellent discourse he made to the senate, to justify his having granted the privileges of Roman citizens to the people of Gaul, has judiciously observed, (y) that what ruined the republics Lacedæmon and Athens, was the extreme difference they made between their own citizens, and the conquered states; treating the last always as foreigners, keeping them always distinct from the community, and thereby preventing them from having any concern in the good of the public; whereas the founder of Rome, by a far more profound policy, incorporated the people he conquered into the number of his citizens, and on the very day he had fought against them as enemies, received them as members of the state, admitted them to all the privileges of natural subjects, and engaged them

O 2

(x) Κράτισον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων ὑπάρχον ὃ καὶ τῆς βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθερίας ἤρχε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀναγόντων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν παρέσχε. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2.

[y] Quid aliud exitio Lacedæmonii Atheniensibus fuit, quam armis pollerent, nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? At conditor noster Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerisque populos eodem die hostes, dein cives habuerit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 11. cap. 24.

them out of interest to defend the very city, which they had so lately attacked.

It was principally by this means, as we have already observed, that the largest empire that ever was, made up a body whose parts were all united far more by affection than fear. The Romans had colonies in all countries, and the people of all the provinces were admitted to share in the government of the state, without almost any difference between them and the conquerors. (z) The two Gauls were filled with consular families. The civil and military employments were alike supplied by Romans and the natives of the country. S. Augustine somewhere observes, that at Carthage it was hard to distinguish between the free and the conquered, her citizens and those of Rome having all things so much in common, and the government so equally shared between them both.

This principal of policy, so constantly observed by the Romans in all ages, is very worthy our attention, and may be of great use to us. Haughtiness and severity serves only to keep up a dangerous division which will break off upon the first occasion. Good treatment, on the contrary makes a conqueror beloved, gains the affection of the new government, obliterates ancient grudges, and as a conquered people serve generally as a frontier, their fidelity becomes a firmer and surer barrier than all bulwarks whatsoever.

The THIRD CHARACTER of the ROMANS.

Their wise DELIBERATIONS in the SENATE.

The third character is the wisdom of the senate, which begun under Romulus to assume a fixed and settled

(z) *Cætera in communi sita sunt* : [said Cerealis, general of the Roman armies, to the citizens of Treves and Langres] *Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris præsidetis, ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum, clausumve . . . Proinde pacem et urbem, quam victi victoresque eodem jure obtinemus, amate, colite.* Tacit hist. lib. 4. cap. 74.

settled form. (a) The senate was the public council of the nation always subsisting, not composed of arbitrary members, but made up of persons chosen out of the most considerable families. The senators interested by their fortunes and dignities in the success of the government, and capable of governing wisely through their age and experience, held the balance even between the sovereign authority of the prince, and the weakness of the people, and supplied a number of magistrates, well formed and prepared for the greatest employments by an excellent education, and replete with knowledge and sentiments superior to the vulgar. They were called *fathers*, *Patres*, that on the one side they might remember they were placed in a high station, and held a rank of distinction, in order to their being the protectors of the people, whose advantage they ought to procure, with the vigilance, zeal, and the disinterestedness of a parent; and on the other hand, that the people might be reminded of the respect and affection they were obliged to bear them, and the confidence they ought to have in their counsel, credit, and protection.

This senate was in all after ages the firmest support, the principal strength, and greatest refuge of the state, even under the emperors. We all know the famous speech of Cineas, whom Pyrrhus sent on an embassy to the Romans. Upon his return, (b) he told his master, the grandeur and majesty of the Roman senate was such, that they seemed to him

O 3

like

(a) *Majores nostri, cum regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut concilium senatus reipublicæ præponerent sempiternum: deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo populo aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret. Senatum reip. custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt. Hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magistratus et quasi ministros gravissimi consilii esse voluerunt: Senatum autem ipsum proximorum ordinum splendore confirmari, plebis libertatem et commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt, Cic. orat. pro Sext. n. 137.*

(b) *Quem qui ex regibus constare dixit, unus veram speciem Romani senatus cepit. Liv. lib. 9. n. 17.*

like an assembly of kings. (c) The glory and duration of the empire (says the emperor Otho, upon occasion of an insurrection, wherein he was apprehensive for the senate) does not ly in buildings, nor in outward magnificence. Whatever is but material, is a trifle; it may be destroyed and repaired, without any assential alteration. But to strike at the authority of the senate, is to attack the being of the state, and the safety of the prince.

I shall have occasion to speak of the senate in another place, when I shall more particularly inquire into the form of government established in the Roman republic.

The FOURTH CHARACTER.

The STRICT UNION of all PARTS of the STATE.

The Roman people were at first no other than a confused multitude, made up of the tumultuous and accidental union of several persons, of different characters and interests, inclinations and professions, and full of jealousies and animosities. To put an end to this diversity, so prejudicial to the solid establishment of the state, Romulus began with dividing his citizens into tribes and legions. (d) And Numa afterwards, striking more deeply at the root of the evil, assembled all of the same trade and business, and formed them into companies, by assigning them peculiar festivals and ceremonies, that by these new engagements of religion and pleasure, they might be induced to forget the difference of their ancient original.

(e) But nothing contributed so much to the settling a perfect concord in this infant state, as the right of patronage

(c) Quid? Vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis, et congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari promiscua sunt: æternitas rerum, et pa, gentium, et mea cum vestra salus, incolumitate senatus firmatur. Tacit. hist. lib. 1.

(d) Plut. in vit. Num, (e) Dionys. Halicarn. Antip. Rom lib 2.

patronage established by Romulus; because by thus joining the patricians with the plebeians, the rich with the poor, in very strict and sacred ties, he seemed to make but one family of the whole people. The first were called patrons or protectors, and the others clients. The patrons were engaged by their very name to protect their clients upon all occasions, as a father does his children; to assist them with their advice, their interest and their care; to manage and carry on their suits, if they had any; in a word to do all kind of good offices for them. The clients, on the other hand, paid the utmost honours to their patrons, respected them as second fathers, contributed out of their substance to the portion of their daughters in case they were poor, to redeem their children if taken captive by the enemy, and to subsist themselves if fallen under any disgrace. We have already observed, that in the latter ages, not only particular persons, but whole cities and provinces, were put under the protection of the great men of Rome.

This union of the citizens, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes. thus formed from the beginning, and carefully cemented by Romulus, was afterwards so firmly established, that for above six hundred years, though the republic was continually torn by the intestine divisions, which subsisted so long between the senate and people, they never came to an open rupture, or engaged in a civil war; (f) but their disputes, how warm and violent soever, were always amicably compromised, upon the remonstrances made on both sides; each party mutually complying with the other, and making some abatements of their rights or pretensions.

(f) Πείθοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀλλήλους, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰκόντες, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐκόντων λαμβάνοντες, πολιτικὰς ἐποιούντο τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλύσεις. Dion. Hal. lib. 2.

*The FIFTH CHARACTER.**LOVE of SIMPLICITY, FRUGALITY, POVERTY,
LABOUR and AGRICULTURE.*

One of Numa's first cares, after he came to the crown, was to inspire his new subjects with the love of that labour, simplicity, and poverty, which were so long practised and esteemed among the Romans. The manner of his advancement to the throne gave him a right to recommend all these virtues strongly to his citizens.

(g) Numa generally resided at Cures, his native city, and the capital of the Sabines, from whence the Romans, after their union with that nation, were called *Quirites*. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and had besides improved his mind by the study of all the sciences that were known in his age, and especially philosophy, which had a great share in his whole conduct. His delight was the country and solitude, and there he employed himself in tilling the ground, and studying the wonders of Divine Power in the works of nature.

Whilst he was enjoying this pleasing retirement, the Roman ambassadors came to tell him, that the two parties, which divided Rome were at last united in the choice of him for their king. This news troubled but did not discompose him. He represented to them, how dangerous it was for a man, who was happy and content with the life he led, to pass on a sudden to one directly opposite to it. "I
" have been brought up, says he to them, in the se-
" vere discipline of the Sabines; and except the
" time I spend to study and know the Deity, I am
" wholly taken up in agriculture, and feeding my
" flocks. If they think they see any thing valuable
" in me, it must be qualities which should keep me
" at a distance from a throne: the love of ease, a
" life

[g] Plut in vit. Num.

“ life of retirement and application to study, an extreme aversion for war, and a great fondness for peace. Would it be right for me to enter into a city, which resounds in all quarters with the noise of arms, and breaths nothing but war; and attempt to teach people a veneration for the gods, the love of justice, the hatred of war and violence, who seem to be far more desirous of a general than a king?”

Numa's refusal served only to make the Romans redouble their solicitations. They pressed and conjured him not to involve them into a fresh sedition, which which must inevitably end in a civil war, as he was the only person upon whom the two parties could agree.

When the ambassadors were withdrawn, his father, and Martius his kinsman, used their utmost endeavours to prevail upon him to accept of the crown. “ Though you think it, said they, no pleasure to lay up great riches, because you are satisfied with a little; nor have any ambition of command, because you enjoy a greater and more real glory, which is that of virtue, yet consider, that to reign well is paying God the homage and worship which is most agreeable to him. It is God who calls you to the throne, as not caring to let the talent of justice, he has blessed you with, lie idle and useless. Do not therefore decline the acceptance of the Royal dignity, as it opens to a wise man the vastest field for great and glorious actions. By this means the gods may be nobly served, and the minds of men insensibly civilized, and inclined to the duties of religion; for subjects naturally conform to the manners of their princes. The Romans loved Tatius, though he was a foreigner, and have consecrated the memory of Romulus, by the divine honours they now pay him. Who can tell whether this victorious people is not tired of war? and whether, enriched as they are with spoils and truths, they do

“ not desire a prince of moderation and justice, who
 “ may govern them peaceably under good laws and
 “ and a mild administration? but though they should
 “ continue as fond of war as ever, is it not better to
 “ divert the fury of their passion, by taking the reins
 “ into your hand, and uniting your country and the
 “ whole nation of the Sabines with so powerful and
 “ flourishing a city by the ties of amity and friendship?”

Numa could not resist, such strong and wise remonstrances; and immediately set forward on his journey. The senate and people of Rome went out to meet him, with a wonderful desire of seeing him. The opinion they had long conceived of his probity, was very much increased by the account the ambassadors had given them of his moderation. (h) They conceived a man must be extremely discreet, that was capable of refusing a sceptre, and could look with indifference and contempt upon what the rest of mankind considered as the height of all human grandeur and happiness.

Numa preserved the same virtues upon the throne which he had brought to it. So far as decency would admit in his station, he lived with the same simplicity and modesty as in private life. He was a perfect model of royal virtue, and tempered the majesty of the prince with the moderation of the philosopher, or rather heightened it by an additional splendor, in making it more amiable and of greater force. Contented to attract respect by his truly royal qualities, he banished all the vain appearances of greatness, which only impose upon the senses, and which his virtue did not want. He lived without pomp, without luxury, and without guards. On the very day that he came to the crown, he discharged the cohort which Romulus had always about his person, (i) declaring that he would neither distrust those who placed a confidence in him, nor command men who distrusted him.

[h] Dionys. Halic. lib. 2.

(i) Οὐτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν, πιστεύειν, ἔτε βασιλεύειν ἀπιστοῦνται
 ἐξέμ. Plut.

He then divided the conquered lands among the poor citizens, to divert them from injustice by the lawful fruits of their labour, and inspired them with the love of peace by the cares of agriculture, to which it is necessary. He restrained and lulled their over-earnest passion for war by the pleasure of a quiet life and useful employments. That he might attach them to the cultivation of their lands by a concern for their own interest, he distributes them into boroughs, gives them inspectors and overseers, visits often himself their labour in the field, judges of the masters by the work, raises such to employments, at he found to be laborious, diligent and industrious, and reprimands the slothful and negligent. And by these different means, supported by his own example, and confirmed by his persuasion, he raised husbandry to great honour, [k] that in after-ages the generals of the army and principal magistrates, were so far from considering country business below them, that they gloried in cultivating their fields with the same victorious and triumphant hands, which had subdued their enemies; and the Roman people were not ashamed to confer the command of their armies, and entrust the safety of the state to those illustrious husbandmen, whom they had taken from the plough, and obliged to quit the care of their lands to assume that of the state.

(1) Scipio Africanus, after he had conquered Hannibal,

[k] Pluribus monumentis Scriptorum admoneor, apud antiquos nostros fuisse gloriæ curam rusticationis: ex qua Quintius Cincinnatus obfessi Consulis et exercitus liberator, ab aratro vocatus ad dictaturam venerit; ac rursus, facibus depositis, quos festinatus victor reddiderat quam sumpserat imperator, ad eosdem juvencos et quatuor jugerum avitum herediolum red erit. Itemque C. Fabricius et Curius Dentatus, alter Pyrrho finibus italiæ pulso, domitis alter Sabinis, accepta quæ viritim dividebantur captivi agri septem jugera non minus industrie coluerit, quam fortiter armis quæsierat. Et ne singulos intempestive nunc persequar, cum tot alios Romani generis intuear memorabiles duces hoc semper duplici studio floruisse, vel defendendi vel colendi patrios quæsitosque fines. Collumella de re rust. lib. 1.

[1] In hoc angulo ille Carthaginis horror Scipio, abluebat corpus laboribus rusticis fessum: exercebat enim opere se terramque [ut mori fuit priscis] ipse subigebat. Senec. epist. 86.

nibal, broke up the ground himself, according to the custom of his predecessors, planted and grafted his trees and did all country business. Every body knows how much the elder Cato, surnamed the Censor, applied himself to agriculture, about which he has even left behind him some directions. [m] Tully in his beautiful oration in favour of Roscius, is extremely severe against the accuser of his client, for departing from the manners of the antients, and urging against Roscius his retirement into the country, as an evident proof of his father's hatred for him; since by the same principle he might have reflected upon the honour and probity of Attilius, whom the Roman ambassadors found actually in the field employed in sowing his lands. "Our ancestors," says he, had a very different way of thinking; "and by such a conduct raised the republic from a weak and low condition to so powerful and flourishing a state. They carefully cultivated their own lands, without coveting those of their neighbours through mean and insatiable avarice, and by that means enriched the republic, and enlarged the Roman empire with such a number of lands, cities and nations."

But this love of labour and a country life did not only contribute to the conquests and grandeur of the Roman empire; it also served to support for so many ages those noble sentiments, that generosity, and disinterestedness, which rendered the Roman name still more illustrious than all their most famous

[m] Nae tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si illis temporibus natus esses, cum ab aratro arcescebantur qui consules fierent. Etenim qui praesse agro colendo flagitium putes, profecto illo Attilium, quem sua manu spargentem semen, qui missi erant, convenerunt, hominem turpissimum atque inhonestissimum judicares. At hercule majores nostri longe aliter et de illo et de cæteris talibus viris existinabant. Itaque ex minima tenuissimaque republica maximam et florentissimam nobis reliquerunt. Suos enim agros studiose colebant, non alienos cupide apeteabant: quibus rebus et agris, et urbibus, et nationibus, rempublicam, atque hoc imperium et populi R. nomen auxerunt. Cic. Orat. pro S. Rosc. Amer. n. 50.

mous victories. For it must be owned, (n) there is a very near relation between this innocent country life and wisdom, of which it is a manner the sister; (o) it may justly be looked upon as an excellent school of simplicity, frugality, justice, and all the moral virtues.

Numa, brought up in this school, inspired not only his own subjects, but the neighbouring cities, with the same taste and sentiments, as Plutarch observes in the beautiful description he has left us of his reign. For the Romans were not the only people, that were calmed and civilized by the justice and pacific disposition of this excellent king, but all the cities round about, in which, as if a gentle gale had breathed upon them from Rome, there might be discerned an admirable change of manners, and instead of an eager passion for war, a fervent desire of living in peace, of cultivating their lands, of educating their children in tranquillity, and serving the gods in quiet. Nothing was to be seen throughout the country, but entertainments, diversions, sacrifices, festivals, and rejoicings at one another's houses, without any apprehension or umbrage, as if the wisdom of Numa had been a rich source, from whence virtue and justice had flowed into the minds of the different people, and diffused into their hearts the same tranquillity that reigned in his.

In short, during the whole reign of Numa, there was not the least appearance of war, or disposition to revolt; and the ambition of reigning never led any person to conspire against him. But, whether the respect for his eminent virtue, or the fear of the deity which protected him, disarmed guilt; or that heaven by a singular favour, took a pleasure in preserving that happy reign from every attempt that might sully the glory or disturb the joy of it; his

was

[n] *Res rustica, sine dubitatione, proxima et quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est. Colum. de re rust. lib. 1.*

[n] *Vita rustica parsimoniæ, diligentia, justitiæ magistra est. Orat. pro Rosc. Amer. n. 75.*

was a proof and example of that great truth, which (p) Plato ventured to pronounce long since, when speaking of government, he says, (q) *Cities and men will never be free from evils, till by the peculiar favour of the gods, supreme power and philosophy uniting in the same person, render virtue victorious over vice.* For the wise prince is not only happy, but makes these happy also, who hear the words he utters. He has scarce ever occasion to make use of force or menaces to reduce his subjects, who having so illustrious a model of virtue continually before their eyes in the life of their prince, are naturally inclined to imitate him, and lead a happy and unblameable life with him, which is the best effect of a wise government; as on the other side, the most solid glory of a prince, is, to be able to inspire his subjects with so noble an inclination, and to lead them to a life of such perfection; which nobody ever knew better how to do than Numa.

I have thought myself obliged to expatiate a little upon the reasons of Numa for refusing the crown; the motives which induced him to accept of it; the excellent rules he observed in his government, and the beautiful description that Plutarch gives of the wonderful effects of his reign, founded upon justice, and the love of peace. This character is great, and almost singular in history; and I think it the duty of a master, to give his scholars a just sense of the passages, which abound with such fine sentiments, and are so proper at the same time to form both the heart and the understanding.

The

(p) Lib. 5. de Rep.

(q) Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii et doctrinae Plato, tum denique fore beatas respublicas putavit, si, aut docti et sapientes homines eas regere cœpissent: aut qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina et sapientia collocassent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet potestatis et sapientiae salutis civitatibus esse posse. Cic. epist. 1. ad Quint. frat. lib. 1.

The SIXTH CHARACTER.

WISE LAWS.

Numa understood from the beginning of his reign, that justice which is the foundation of empires and all society, was still more necessary to a people nurtured in the exercise of arms, accustomed to subsist upon rapine, and to live without discipline and government. To soften the ferocity of their temper, and reduce so many different characters to an uniformity, he established wise laws, and recommended the observance of them by his moderation and mildness, by setting an example of the greatest virtues, and an unalterable love for equality as well towards foreigners as citizens. By this conduct he inspired his subjects with so great a regard for justice, that he quite changed the face of the city. And so great was the zeal for observing such useful and sacred laws, and perpetuating the spirit of them, that we have constantly seen at Rome, even down to the latest emperors, a continual tradition of the knowledge of their laws, a kind of school of wise legislators and famous lawyers, who forming their decisions upon the purest light of reason, and the surest maxims of natural equity, have composed that body of law, and the rights of mankind, which has become the admiration of the whole world, and been adopted, or at least imitated by all civilized nations, who have extracted from them the best part of their laws.

The SEVENTH CHARACTER.

RELIGION.

The seventh character is a great respect for religion, and a faithful perseverance in beginning every thing with it, and referring every thing to it. Romulus

mulus had already expressed a very high regard for religion, as Plutarch observes; but Numa carried it much farther, and applied himself to give it more lustre and majesty. He prescribed the particular rules of it, set down at large all its exercises and rites, added the utmost solemnity to its ceremonies, and made the festivals as agreeable and attractive as possible. By these new spectacles of religion, and this frequent commerce with things sacred, which seemed to render the deity present in all places, he brought them to a more gentle disposition, made them more tractable and humane, and insensibly changed their propensity to violence and war, into a love of justice and a desire of peace, which are the best fruits of it. This habit of introducing religion into all their actions, influenced the people with so profound and constant a veneration for the Divinity that from that time, and in all after ages, they never created magistrates, declared war, gave battle, undertook any thing in public or private, made no marriages, funerals, or journies, without some act of religion. The care they took to build a temple to Faith, and to make her respected as the sacred guardian of promises and engagements, and the inexorable avenger of the breach of them, kept the people so exactly to their words, that the obligation of an oath was never held more inviolable by any nation whatsoever.

Polybius and Livy give the Romans a glorious character in this respect. (r) Polybius says, that when once they had taken an oath, they kept it inviolably, without standing in need of any security, witnesses, or writing contracts; whereas all these precautions were ineffectual among the Greeks. (s) The other ob-

(r) Δι' αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον πίστεως τηρεῖται τὸ καθήκον. Polyb. lib. 6.

(s) Deorum assidua infidens cura, cum interesset rebus humanis cœleste Numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum proxime legum ac pœnarum metum civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent: tum finitimi etiam populi, qui ante castra,

observes, "that the different and continual exercises
" of religion, established by Numa, which gave the
" Divinity so constant a share in all human actions,
" had possessed the citizens with such a sense of re-
" ligion, that a word or an oath had no less weight
" and authority at Rome, than the fear of the laws
" and punishment. Nor did the Romans only as-
" sume the character and peaceable disposition of
" Numa, in forming themselves upon the example
" of their king, as by a perfect model; but the
" neighbouring nations, who before had looked up-
" on Rome less as a city than a camp, designed to
" disturb the peace of all other people, conceived so
" so high a veneration for the prince and his subjects,
" that they would have thought it criminal, and in a
" manner sacrilegious, to have attacked a city so entirely
" devoted to the worship and service of the gods."

In my entrance upon the Roman history, I thought it necessary to give first some idea of this famous people, whose principal characters, which rendered them so illustrious, and raised them to so great a superiority above all other people, are so happily united in Romulus and Numa, the two founders of their empire. We hereby see, of what consequence the first impressions are, not only with regard to private persons, but to whole nations; for it is evident, that these eminent virtues, which prevailed in the infancy of Rome, and were continually improving and increasing in after-ages, where the occasion of her conquests, and gained her the empire of the world. For, as (t) Dionysius Halicarnasseus judiciously observes, it is an immutable law, and founded in nature itself, That whoever are superior in merit, become

non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandum omnium pacem cre-
diderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatum totam in
cultum versam Deorum violari ducerent nefas. Liv. lib. 1. n. 21.

(t) Φύσεως γὰρ δὴ νόμος ἅπασιν κοινός, ὃν εἶδεις ἀναλύσει χρέ-
νος ἀρχειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων τὰς κρείττονας. Dion. Hal. lib. 1 At.
Rom.

come so likewise in power and authority, and that the people who excel most in virtue and fortitude, sooner or later will have the command over those who have less.

The SECOND PIECE of ROMAN HISTORY.

The EXPULSION of the KINGS, and ESTABLISHMENT of LIBERTY.

THE epocha of the expulsion of the kings, and the establishment of the liberty of Rome, is too considerable to be slightly passed over. This memorable event is the basis of the most famous republic that ever was; it is the source of its prosperity, and of every thing great and wonderful admired in it. From whence the Roman people farther contracted two singular branches of their character: the one, an irreconcilable abhorrence of regal power, and whatever bore the least appearance of it; and the other a violent passion for their liberty, of which they were at all times extremely jealous, almost to an excess. The reciprocal moderation observed by the senate and people, is a third circumstance, which well deserves our observation.

CHARACTER *the* FIRST.

HATRED *of the* ROYAL DIGNITY.

Several circumstances and motives concurred to occasion and confirm the natural hatred they bore to regal power.

I. The discontent and aversion which the people of Rome had long conceived against the violence and tyrannical government of the Tarquins, at last broke out upon occasion of the injury offered to Lucretia, and the fatal manner in which she revenged

ged the prince's crime upon herself, by killing herself with her own hands.

2. These dispositions were considerably improved by the astonishing resolution of Brutus the consul, who caused his own sons to be beheaded in his presence, for having entered into a conspiracy to restore the kings. The blood of two sons spilt by their own father, to the dread and astonishment of all that beheld it, gave them a lively sense how dreadful a calamity it must be to live under the yoke of the Tarquins, as it cost so dear to redeem them from it. This bloody execution, and the tragical death of Lucretia which were alike horrible to nature, impressed in all their minds so strong an aversion to regal power, that even in after ages they could not bear so much as the shadow of it; but though, that after the example of their ancestors they ought to sacrifice whatever was most dear to them, and expose themselves to the utmost hazards, rather than suffer an evil, which from their infancy they were taught to consider as the greatest and most insupportable of all that could befall them.

3. By abandoning the kings treasures to the plundered by the people, pulling down his palaces in town and country, devoting his fields near Rome to Mars, to make the restitution of them impossible, throwing the corn upon his lands into the Tiber, they made the rupture absolutely irreconcilable; and the whole people, who had shared in the insult and pillage, were sensible their only safety lay in an inflexible resistance.

4. The sanguine obstinacy of the Tarquins in fatiguing the Romans with a long and severe war. and in stirring up all their neighbours against them, laid them under an absolute necessity of defending themselves to the utmost. Their repeated engagements, frequent battles, and the death of one of their consuls, who was killed in the field with the most considerable of the citizens, kept up and enflamed their animosity, and made the fear and hatred

tred of the royal authority grow into an habit. One may judge of the abhorrence they had for it from the beginning, by the answer they gave to the embassadors of king Porfenna, who earnestly solicited the restoration of the Tarquins. (u) They declared they were rather disposed to open their gates to the enemy than the kings, and would sooner chuse to lose their city than they would their liberty.

5. The law, which, to prevent any one from attempting to make himself master of all the republic, empowered all others to kill him before he was juridically condemned, provided that after his death they could produce an evident proof of his having entertained any such design, seemed to arm every citizen indifferently against the common enemy, to constitute every private man a guardian of the public liberty, and to make him responsible for its preservation.

6. The heroic valour of Horatius Cocles, with the extraordinary reward and honour he received, for singly opposing on the bridge the auxiliary forces of the Tarquins; the intrepid boldness of Scævola, who punished his hand for having failed of his blow; the courage of Clelia and her companions; the triumphs decreed to Publicola and his brother Marcus, upon the account of the victories gained over the kings; the funeral oration and solemn honours paid to Brutus as to the father of liberty, and afterwards to Publicola, in acknowledgment of his constant love for the republic; all these objects still contributed to inflame their zeal for liberty, and hatred of tyranny; and as these great examples excited the admiration of all mankind, they inspired them with an ardent desire to imitate them.

7. The

(u) Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus Potius quam regibus portas patefacere: eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Liv. lib. 2. n. 15.

7. (x) The solemn oath the people took at the altars, in their own name, and the name of all their posterity, that they never would, upon any pretext whatsoever, suffer the re-establishment of the regal power, was in all after ages as present to the people's minds, as if they had but lately thrown off the yoke of a severe and shameful slavery.

This aversion, cemented with so much blood, and supported by such powerful motives, was handed down from age to age, not only whilst the republic subsisted, but under the emperors also, and could not be extinguished but with the empire. (y) The attempt of Manlius, in aspiring to the crown, blotted out the remembrance of all his great actions, and occasioned his being thrown down without pity from the summit of that very rock, which he had regained from the hand of the enemies. Nothing hastened more the death of Cæsar, than the suspicion he had raised, that he designed to have himself declared king. His successors, besides the tribunitian power, took the titles of Cæsar, Augustus, Chief Pontiff, Præconsul, Emperor, Father of their country; but neither their own ambition, nor the flattery of the people, ever presumed to go farther, or speak out plain. And though they were in possession of as absolute power as any king on earth; though some of them, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, carried the abuse of sovereign power so far as to exercise the most cruel tyranny; yet none of them ever ventured to assume the diadem, as it was judged the mark of a title, which had something too odious in it for eight or ten

(x) *Omnium primum avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adigit (Brutus) neminem Romæ passuros regnare. Liv. lib. 2. n. 1*

(y) *Damnatum tribuni de saxo Tarpeio dejecerunt: locusque idem in uno homine et eximie gloriæ monumentum, et pœnæ fuit. Ut sciant homines quæ et quanta decora fœda cupiditas regni, non ingrata solum, sed invisa etiam reddiderit. Liv. lib. 6. n. 20*

ten centuries to efface; and what is strange and almost incredible, whilst their impious religion permitted them to set up for gods, a more reserved policy forbade them to pretend to be kings.

CHARACTER, *be* SECOND.

An excessive LOVE of LIBERTY, and a diligent APPLICATION to EXTEND its RIGHTS.

The whole body of the Roman republic consisted of two orders, which had each their particular magistrates, as well as their different interests, and were always opposite to each other. The one was called *the Senate*, and was the head and council of the state; the other was the common people, called in Latin *plebs* or *plebes*, distinguished from the nobility and the Patrician families. These two orders, joined together, formed what was properly called the Roman people, *populus Romanus*; whose general assemblies were held either by centuries, and were named *centuriata comitia*, in which the senate had the greatest power; or by tribes, *tributa comitia*, where the power of the people prevailed most.

This people already elate from the frequent victories and conquests they had gained over their neighbours, conceived still higher sentiments, from the share they had in the administration, and the concessions the senate were obliged to make them in the times immediately following the revolution.

Nothing was more capable of pleasing this people, than the readiness with which the consul Publicola in one night, caused his house to be pulled down to the ground, upon some murmurings against the height of its situation, and the largeness of the building, which was looked on as a citadel.

The

The same Publicola, to remove what was most terrible in the consular power, and make it more gentle and popular, caused the axe to be taken away in the city from the faces which were carried before the consul; (y) and when he shewed himself in an assembly of the people, he ordered that they should be bowed down, as though he submitted them to the people, and did homage to them for their authority.

He farther extremely augmented the power of the people, and their immunities by the law, which allowed of an appeal to the people from the judgment of the consuls and senate; by that which condemned those to death who should accept any office without receiving it from the people; by the law, which excused the poor citizens from paying taxes; and by that which exempted such as were disobedient to the consuls, from corporal punishment, and reduced the penalty of their disobedience to a pecuniary mulct.

To advance the authority of the people still farther, he thought fit to discharge himself of the custody and management of the public treasure, and prohibited any of his relations or friends from meddling with it. He therefore deposited it in the temple of Saturn; and allowing the people to chuse two officers, who should have the keeping of it, he gave them a great share in the administration of the finances, which are the force of the state, the strength of the war, and the substance of rewards.

The people growing fond of being admitted into the administration, were careful ever after to lose nothing of their ground, and they could not be
more

(y) Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factum populi quam consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse. Liv. lib. 2. n. 7.

(x) Agi deinde de concordia coëptum, concessumque in conditiones
ut

more agreeably pleased, than by having an opportunity given them of enlarging their rights and prerogatives.

The strongest barrier they opposed to the proceedings of the senate and consuls, and the firmest support of their credit and liberty, was the establishment of the tribunes of the people, (z) which was one of the conditions of their reconciliation with the senate, and their return into the city; after their withdrawing to the *mons sacer*. The person of these tribunes, who were properly creatures of the people, was declared sacred and inviolable. At first they created two, and afterwards they were multiplied to the number of ten. The Patricians were rendered absolutely incapable of this employment; [a] and to disable them from influencing the election of the tribunes, it was ordered that all the plebeian magistrates should be nominated in the assemblies, which were held by tribes, wherein the senators had little authority. The violence and injustice of the decemvirs, which occasioned the second retreat of the people to the Aventine hill, gave occasion also to strengthen the tribunes with an additional power. It was decreed, that the laws made by the people in the assemblies held by tribes, should oblige all the Roman people, and consequently the senate as well as the rest; (b) which gave the tribunes a great authority; that they should create no magistrate, from whom it might not be allowed to appeal; and that every private man should be empowered to kill with im-

ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Liv. lib. 2. n. 33.

[a] Volo, tribunes plebis, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res, sub titulo prima specie minime atroci, ferebatur; sed quæ patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent tribunos, auferret. Ibid. l. 2. n. 56.

[b] Qua lege tribunitis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Ibid. l. 3. n. 55.

impunity whoever should oppose this ordinance; that the persons of the tribunes should be again declared more sacred and inviolable than ever. Their power in short extended very far, and reached even to the consuls themselves, whom they pretended they had a right to imprison, [c] as the public declared upon an occasion when the senate had recourse to their authority to reduce the consuls to their duty, who refused to obey them.

After the people had thus confirmed their authority they still went on to form new projects, which the tribunes, out of zeal or complaisance, did not fail to second with great warmth. They spared no pains to open to themselves the way to all posts of dignity, and especially the consulship, which was the first office of the state, in which the greatest part of the public authority resided, and which was reserved for the patricians alone. After long and hot disputes, at last they obtained it, and upon the occasion of a slight adventure. I beg leave to tell the story; as it is one of the most beautiful and most natural to be found in Livy.

[d] Fabius Ambustus had married his eldest daughter

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[c] Pro collegio pronunciant, placere consules senatui dicto audientes esse: si adversum consensum amplissimi ordinis ultra tendant, in Vincula se duci eos jussuros. Ibid. l. 4. n. 26.

[d] M. Fabii Ambusti, potentis viri, filiarum duarum nuptarum, Ser. Sulpicio major, minor C. Licinio Stolorum erat. . . Forte ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpicii tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiarum, cum inter se [ut fit] sermonibus tempus tererent, licitor Sulpicii, cum is de foro se domum reciperet, forem [ut mos est] virga percuteret. Cui id, moris ejus insueta, expavisset minor Fabia, risui sorori fuit, miranti ignorare id sororem. Ceterum, is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit: frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque numquid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis visum; sui que ipsam malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime antequam vult, poenituisse. Confusam eam ex recenti morsu animi cum pater forte vidisset, percunctatus fatin' salve avertentem doloris causam [quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam] elicuit, comiter sciscitando ut fateretur eum esse causam doloris, quod juncta impari esset, nupta in domo, quam nec honos nec gratia intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus, bonum apud eum habere jussit: eosdem propediem domi visuram honores, quos apud sororem viderat. Liv. lib. 6. n. 34.

ter to Serv. Sulpicius a patrician, and the younger to a young plebeian, named Licinius Stola. One day as the latter was visiting her elder sister, and they were talking together, Sulpicius, who was then tribune of the soldiers with consular power, coming home, the lictor struck the door with the rod he carried in his hand, according to custom, and made a great noise. The younger daughter, who was unacquainted with the custom, having expressed some fright upon the occasion, her elder sister laughed at her simplicity, and wondered she did not know what it meant. As the smallest trifles often make an impression upon the sex, the younger was highly offended at the mirth of her sister. The multitude of followers, who attended the military tribune, and expected his orders, without doubt made her consider the fortune of her elder sister as far superior to her own; and a secret jealousy, which is apt to occasion an uneasiness at seeing our relations in a station above us, made her repent of being married as she was. Whilst this uneasiness hung upon her, her father coming in, and finding her very sorrowful, desired to know the reason. But as she could not discover it, without seeming to want friendship for her sister, and respect for her husband, she declined telling him for some time. Fabius at last, by kind expressions and caresses, drew the secret from her, and she ingenuously owned, that the cause of her grief was the being married into a family, which was incapable of any post of honour or authority. Her father comforted her, and bade her not be uneasy, for she would soon see the same dignity in her family, as made her think her sister so happy. From that moment, therefore, he laboured to effect it, in conjunction with his son-in-law Licinius. Having associated L. Sextius in their design, a young man of an enterprising genius, who wanted nothing but the rank of patrician to entitle him to the highest dignities in the state, they

they seized upon the favourable opportunity which the present conjuncture afforded them, and after several disputes with the patricians, they at last forced them to admit the plebeians to the consulship. L. Sextius was the first man, upon whom this honour was conferred.

After this victory, nothing remained inaccessible to the people. The offices of prætor and censor, and even the dictatorship and priesthood, were all offered and granted them; the senate, rightly judging, [c] that after they had been reduced to grant them the consulship, it would be to no purpose to dispute any thing else with them. And thus the people, who were little less than slaves under the kings, and clients without power under the patricians, became by degrees equal to their patrons, and their associates in all the honours and employments of the commonwealth.

CHARACTER the THIRD.

The reciprocal MODERATION of the SENATE and PEOPLE in their DISPUTES.

The dispute between the people and senate, concerning public employments, continued very long, and were carried on with such a warmth and vigour, as made them seem impossible to be terminated but by the ruin of one of the parties. The tribunes of the people, who were usually very hot and passionate, perpetually animated the multitude by bitter invectives against the consuls and senate. Upon the affair of prohibiting marriages between the patricians and the people, "Do you not see, said they, in what contempt you live? They would take from you, if they could, a part of the very light of heaven. They are in pain that you breathe the same air with them, that you

P 2

" talk

[c] Senatu, cum in summis imperiis id non obtinisset, minus in prætura tendente. Liv. lib. 8. n. 15.

“ talk the same language, and have the same figure of
 “ men as they have. Can any thing be more insult-
 “ ing and disgraceful, than to declare one part of
 “ the city unworthy of being allied to the patricians,
 “ as though they were polluted and impure? And as
 “ to dignities, has the republic any cause to be dissa-
 “ tisfied with the service of the plebeians in all the
 “ offices confided to them? There is now nothing
 “ wanting to them but the consulship; and in that,
 “ for the future, they ought to believe their safety
 “ and liberty consist; nor till they have obtained it,
 “ can they hold themselves really free, or that they
 “ have actually thrown off the yoke of servitude and
 “ tyranny.”

The senators were sometimes no less transported with violence and passion. (g) Whatever was granted to the people in confirmation of their liberty was looked upon as so much loss to them. [h] And though they owned, that the younger part of their body were frequently too warm and zealous, yet if one side or other was to go beyond the bounds of decency, they rather chose to see the matter pushed too far on the side of their faction, than on that of their adversaries; so difficult it is, says

[f] *Ecquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis hujus partem, si liceat, adimant. Quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis indignantur. . . . An esse ulla major aut insignior contumelia potest, quam partim civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio haberi?* Liv. lib. 4. n. 3. et 4.

Nullius eorum [qui ex plebe creati sint tribuni militum] populum Romanum pœnituisse. Consulatum superesse plebeiis. Eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen. Si eo perventum sit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges, et stabilem libertatem suam existimatur. Liv. lib. 6. n. 37.

[g] *Quicquid libertati plebis caveretur, id partes decedere suis opibus credebant.* Liv. lib. 3. n. 55.

[h] Seniores patrum, ut nimis feroces suos credere juvenes esse, ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis quam adversariis superesse animos. Adeo moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum æquari velle simulando ita se quisque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili est; cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ultro se efficiunt; et injuria a nobis repulsam, tanquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, injungimus aliis. Ibid. n. 65.

says Livy, in disputes of this nature, where a perfect equality is pretended to be observed between the two parties, to keep the balance in so just an equilibrium as not to incline to one side more than the other; every one insensibly endeavouring to raise himself, in order to depress his adversary, and to make himself formidable, that he may be under no apprehension from him, as if there was no medium betwixt doing and receiving an injury.

It must be owned however to the glory of the Roman people, that this disposition, (i) which seemed ready to have recourse to the last extremities, and break out into bloody seditions, the usual source and cause of the ruin of great empires, was long restrained, and in a manner suspended, partly by the wisdom of the senators, and partly by the patience of the people; and for above six hundred years, as we have already observed, those domestic disputes never degenerated into civil wars.

There were always grave and discreet men in the senate, zealous for the public good (k), and alike avoiding the two opposite extremes, either of betraying the interests of the senate to gain the favour of the people, or of irritating and provoking the people, by declaring too warmly for the senate, who managed so as to induce both parties to a reconciliation, and, by prudent condescensions, to prevent the fatal consequences, which too obstinate a resistance must have inevitably induced. (l) They represented

to

(l) *Æternas esse opes Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus scævient. Id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis reperi-
tum, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id ma-
lum, partim patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis. Liv. lib. 2.
n. 44.*

(k) *Alics consules, ut per prodicionem dignitatis patrum plebi
adulatos, aut acerbe tuendo juris ordinis, asperiores domando mul-
titudinm fecisse; T. Quintium orationem memorem majestatis
patrum concordiaque ordinum habuisse. Liv. lib. 3. n. 69.*

(i) *Ab Appio petitur, ut tantum consularem majestatem esse
vellet, quanta in concordia civitate esse posset. Dum tribuni con-
sulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virum in
medio; distractam laceratamque rempublicam magis quorum in
manu sit, quam ut in columis sit, queri. Liv. lib. 2. n. 57.*

to their consuls when too hot and violent, as Appius was, that they could not attempt to carry the consular power beyond the just bounds, which the common benefit of peace and concord required; that whilst the tribunes and the consuls were engaged in drawing over all they could to their separate interests, the republic torn and divided, was reduced to a languishing condition, both parties being more intent upon ruling than preserving it. (m) They represented also to the tribunes, that it would be neither glorious or advantageous to them to found and enlarge their authority upon the ruin of the senate, which was the public council; and that the only means to establish the liberty of Rome, and support an equality among the citizens, was to maintain each order of the state in its just rights and privileges.

The people, on their side, shewed sometimes a surprising temper and moderation, and behaved with a generosity, one would scarce think a multitude capable of; as may be seen in the following instance of an assembly, where they appeared at first more exasperated than ever. The people seemed resolved not to take up arms against the enemy, who were then in the field, unless they were admitted to have a share in the government. The senate finding they must either submit to the people or the enemy, after having given up the business of marriages to no purpose, judged it requisite to do the same, in regard to the public employments; and having proposed to nominate military tribunes instead of consuls, they consented that the plebeians should be admitted to that employment. (e) The event proved, that
after

(m) Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suæ implerent ut nullum publicum concilium finerent esse. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem teneat. Liv. lib. 3. n. 63.

(n) Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit, alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto judicio esse. Liv. l. 4. n. 6.

after the heat and fire of the dispute was over, and they were calm enough to judge of matters as they ought, that the people were quite different from what they were whilst it subsided. For, satisfied with the condescension of the senate, they nominated none but patricians to be military tribunes, with a moderation, says Livy, an equity, and greatness of soul, seldom found even in one man. ‘*Hanc modestiam, æquitatemque, et altitudinem animi, ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc populi universi fuit ?*’

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.

